









Digitized by the Internet Archive  
in 2011 with funding from  
University of Toronto

<http://www.archive.org/details/leprincenoirpo00chan>







# THE BLACK PRINCE





A mouf Geffrey de Haruy  
 A un umbari qui amery  
 Estoit appellez de paupre  
 Et la feurent de pikardy  
 Et de ffrance tout ly baron  
 Qui meins le plus gnt fuy son  
 Mais la fust a voier acountier  
 Luy noble Roys a delivier  
 Et luy noble prince son filz  
 Qui moult fust vaillant & hardy  
 La combat vaillamment  
 Qui l'estouit durement  
 Par force son pier le Roy  
 La feurent mis en desaray  
 ffrancois & pikard cel nuyt  
 Donut plusours englois gnt de droyt  
 ffraisrent contre leur jetoyn  
 Car la feurent luy meillour  
 En noble pais d'engleterre  
 Ne pur graunt loos & pris conquerre  
 Si feurent vaillamment pnce  
 La furent pris pur verite  
 Les plus noble barons de ffrance  
 Et decen de volentes ffrance  
 Ne vnges mais le Roy d'engleterre  
 Neust en vne heure tant aferre  
 Come il eust en celle heure d'adont  
 Car plusours gentz recozdez ont  
 Ne le Roy eust este pris  
 Si neust este le prince son filz  
 Mais sa puissance & sa haultesse  
 Et sa trefite proesse  
 Estouit illoeges le Roy son pier  
 Si ne dit pas ceste matiere  
 Estre en null state oblie  
 Or est bien droit ge ie vous die  
 Coment apres le restous de calys le Roy  
 d'engleterre ou on poar retourna avers  
 ce avant la bataille sur la mer & la firent  
 Des Esparmardes occiz & despoymfiz.  
**E**n engleterre retournerent  
 Et moult grant ioc demeneurent

# LE PRINCE NOIR

POÈME DU HÉRAUT D'ARMES

CHANDOS

TEXTE CRITIQUE SUIVI DE NOTES

PAR

FRANCISQUE-MICHEL

CORRESPONDANT DE L'INSTITUT DE FRANCE, ETC., ETC.

---

THE LIFE & FEATS OF ARMS

OF

EDWARD THE BLACK PRINCE

BY CHANDOS HERALD

A METRICAL CHRONICLE

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION AND NOTES

BY FRANCISQUE-MICHEL

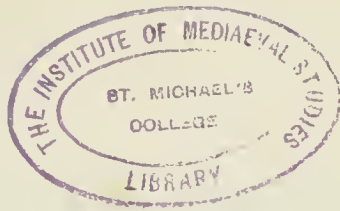
F. A. S. LOND., SCOT. AND NORMANDY, ETC., ETC.



LONDON & PARIS

J. G. FOTHERINGHAM

—  
M.DCCC.LXXXIII.



14036

DEC 12 1947



SEP 2 1960



## PREFACE

---

It will not be necessary in the present instance to enter into any preliminary dissertation to prove to the reader that the contents of the following poem are of an interesting character. If the brilliant achievements of his ancestors are dear to him and he has a spark of chivalric feeling within his breast, it will be enough to announce that the subject of it is the Black Prince, and the writer, not only a contemporary, but one who had been with his hero in the field, and witnessed probably some of those glorious exploits which he has described. It is only remarkable that the contents of the manuscript have not been long since made public, and that they should have escaped the researches of Barnes and Collins.

The first printed notice of the volume occurs in Warton's *History of English Poetry* <sup>1</sup>, where it is described as written in the short verse of romance by "the Prince's herald, who attended close by his person in all his battles, according to the established mode of those times;" and it is added: "This was John Chandois-Herald, frequently mentioned in Froissart <sup>2</sup>. " The

<sup>1</sup> London, 1824, 8vo., vol. ii, p. 166.

<sup>2</sup> A further error is committed in the note at the foot of the page respecting our poet. The reader is directed to a curious description in Froissart of an interview between the Chandos Herald above mentioned, and a marshal of France, where they are said to enter into a dispute concerning the "devices d'amour" borne by each army. The dispute in question arose on the day preceding the battle of Poitiers from the meeting of Sir John Chandos with the Marshal of Clermont, who bore the same armour with himself, upon which some angry words passed between them.

christian name is an addition by Warton; Froissart does occasionally mention him, as we shall presently see, but always simply as Chandos the Herald. It is indeed from this historian that the little we know concerning the author of the poem has been gathered, if we except one or two entries in records mentioned in the following account drawn up by indefatigable John Anstis, Garter King at Arms. It has been taken from Anstis's papers deposited in the Herald's College.

"Chandos was the herald of the famous Sir John Chandos, constable of Aquitaine, who was frequently employed by him, and in the service of the public. Froissart informs us that Sir Robert Knolles and Sir John Chandos besieged Domme, and from thence sent a message to the Prince of Wales by Chandos le Heraut, who brought them the commands of the Prince<sup>1</sup>. Sir John Chandos intimated his desire to the earl of Pembroke that he would be pleased to join with him in order to give battle to the Marshal of France, which message was sent by Chandos le Heraut, who at his return found his master and his sons at Châtelleraut. In our records there is an entry of a protection granted to this herald in Nov. 41 Ed. III.; and what is memorable, he retained this

<sup>1</sup> Froissart thus describes the interview of Chandos with the Prince at Angoulême: "When the herald Chandos was arrived in the presence of the Prince, he dropped on his knees, and recommended to him his masters who had sent him, and whom he had left at the siege of Domme. He then related their situation most wisely, as he had been ordered to do, and gave the credential letters which he had brought to the Prince. The Prince listened attentively to all that was told him, and said he would consider this subject. He kept the herald with him five days, and, on the sixth, he had letters delivered to him under the Prince's seal, who said to him on his departure: "Chandos, salute from me all our companions." He replied: "Most willingly, my lord." — When the herald set out, he took the road through Querey.

title after the death of his founder or master, which happened in battle 44 Ed. III., for he was soon afterwards by the title of *Chandos* sent by the Earls of Cambridge and Pembroke <sup>1</sup> to offer battle to the Duke of Bourbon, and in 1380 was sent with Aquitaine Herald <sup>2</sup> to defy the Duke of Burgundy by the Earl of Buckingham, in whose coat armour they were both invested; and two years afterwards we find mention of an herald, Ireland King of Arms and Chandos by name, which was above mentioned as a supposed instance of the retaining the titles of heraldship as a surname after their promotions. But whether that was the case here, may be somewhat doubted in regard that Chandos Herald, without the addition of Ireland King of Arms, is soon afterwards in 7 Ric. II. entered as receiving a reward for going to Calais with letters of credence to the Duke of Lancaster and others, though this service, notwithstanding the time of payment, might have been performed by him before he was made Ireland <sup>3</sup>. »

<sup>1</sup> He was then the bearer of the challenge following : « My masters and lords send me to you, and inform you by my mouth that they are quite astonished you have allowed them to remain fifteen days here, and you have not sallied out of your fort to give them battle. They therefore tell you that if you will come forth to meet them, they will permit you to choose any plot of ground for the field of battle, and let God give the event of it to whom so ever pleases. »

Upon the duke's refusing to accept the challenge, he was again sent with this message : « Noblemen, my masters and lords inform you through me that since you are not willing to accept the offer they have made you, three days hence, between nine and twelve o'clock in the morning, you, my lord Duke of Bourbon, will see your lady mother placed on horseback and carried away. Consider this, and rescue her, if you can. »

<sup>2</sup> Where they are called two kings at arms.

<sup>3</sup> References to all the passages in Froissart's Chronicles wherein Chandos Herald is mentioned, are pointed out in the *Table analy-*

PQ  
1555  
.N3

In the poem he speaks of himself only twice by name, in both which passages he styles himself *Chandos le Herauld*; and of anything further concerning his personal history, we are left in entire ignorance.

The reader however has a right to know on what grounds our poet is entitled to his credit; and with this view we must consider the nature of the office he filled in the scenes which he describes. From his title it is evident that he was the domestic <sup>1</sup> herald of Sir John Chandos, appointed probably to the post, after that knight had been raised to the rank of banneret at the battle of Nájera. In this capacity it would have been a part of his duty to attend his master to the field of battle, and in such a situation he must have had ample means, both from personal observation and opportunities of enquiry, for, what he himself calls, " writing a good history " of passing events. Indeed we find that it was another part of a herald's duty to keep a register of what he saw and

*tique des noms*, in the recent edition of Froissart published by the Baron Kervyn de Lettenhove, t. xxi, p. 540. — In the last paragraph of his note on the herald " qui racontait les exploits des Anglais en vers élégants ", the learned editor risks the supposition that the rhymers were not an Englishman, on the authority of a charter printed by Jules Delpit (*Collection générale des documents français qui se trouvent en Angleterre*, t. i, Paris, 1849, 4to., p. 132), and which does not in the least refer to Chandos Herald.

<sup>1</sup> Before the foundation of the Herald's College by Richard the Third, it was no unusual thing for noblemen to have their pursuivants and heralds, appointed by themselves and giving their name for them. (Anstis, *The Register of the most noble Order of the Garter*, London, 1724, fol., vol. i, p. 287.) Thus Mowbray, duke of Norfolk, had Mowbray herald, the earl of Pembroke, Pembroke herald, Viscount Lisle, Lisle herald, and so others. (Randle Holmes, *The Academy of Armory*, etc. Chester, 1688, fol., p. 3. Compare Anstis, vol. i, p. 233, note, and *Glossarium mediæ et infimæ Latinitatis*, t. iii, p. 646-649.)

heard. Warton, from Menestrier <sup>1</sup>, observes that there are several proofs which indicate that many romances of the fourteenth century, if not in verse, at least those written in prose, were the work of heralds <sup>2</sup>; and if at that period the same discrimination was exercised in the persons selected to the office, as we afterwards find to have been the case, we could not wish the compilation of a chronicle to be entrusted to better hands; for, according to Upton <sup>3</sup>, to make an accomplished herald, a knowledge of all arts, sciences and faculties, divine and profane, noble and ignoble, were essentially necessary <sup>4</sup>. It was probably for the reason above-named that Froissart, in his preface, tells us that amongst other sources he gathered the material for his history from heralds, and since he has recorded the very words of our

<sup>1</sup> *De la Chevalerie ancienne et moderne*, etc. Paris, 1683, 12mo., ch. v, p. 225. Cf. *De l'Office des Roys d'armes, des herauds*, etc., par Marc de Vulson St de la Colombiere. Paris, 1645, 4to.

<sup>2</sup> Price has a very interesting note upon a collection of German poems compiled from heraldic registers by Peter Suchinwirt (who lived at the close of the XIVth century), in which accounts are given of the battles of Crécy and Poitiers by Germans who were present. (*The History of English Poetry*, edit. 1824, vol. ii, p. 167, note n.)

<sup>3</sup> *Nicholai Uptoni de Studio militari Libri quatuor*, etc., Lond., 1654, fol., lib. i, cap. xii.

<sup>4</sup> " *Hiraux* appellati videntur, qui fortium virorum facta laudesque verbis suis prædicabant. " — " En celuy saint disner soit bien gardé que hiraux et bordeurs ne fassent leur offices; mais à collation du roy (soir?), et en presence des vaillans chevaliers, se pourront bien reciter, au lieu d'instrumens bas, aucunes ditiés à la louenge de Dieu ", etc. (*Statuta ordinis Coronæ spinarum*, cap. xxii; ap. du Cange's *Gloss. med. et inf. Lat.*, t. iii, p. 671, col. i, v° *Hiraudus*).

. . . . . Un hiriaus,

Un jougerres, un menestraus, etc., Vitæ Patrum. (*Ibid.*)

There is a stroke against heralds and minstrels in the *Miroir de Mariage*. (Poésies morales et historiques d'Eustache Deschamps, Crapelet's edition, p. 216, 217.)



poet in his interview with the Black Prince, and elsewhere, it is not unlikely that he had held personal communication with him.

We will proceed to examine how in his duties as a historian Chandos has acquitted himself. As a poet, we have not so much sympathy with him, and it is perhaps fortunate that he was gifted with so little imagination as he appears to have possessed, for we are thus probably saved from the flights of fancy and heightened colourings of the poets of his time, which would have detracted much from his credit in his more important capacity. He is, indeed, a most matter of fact writer, at the same time that his style is vigorous and often elegant; but we have little talk of "ladye loves," nor any dwelling upon the gaieties of the times of peace, of the feats of the tournament, or the revelries of the hall. As a historian, he has higher claims to our attention. His object appears to have been, according to his own declaration in his poem, and we give him credit for it, to record things as he saw or gathered them, that truth might not be lost. In imitation of Froissart <sup>1</sup>, he expressly disclaims having any

<sup>1</sup> « Pluseurs joulours et enchantours en place ont chantet et rimet les guerres de Bretagne, et corromput par les chançons et rimes controuvées la juste et vraie histoire : dont trop en desplait à monseigneur Jehan le Biel, qui la commença à mettre en prose et en cronique, et à moy, sire Jehan Froissart, qui loyaument et justement l'ay poursuivy à mon pooir ; car leurs rimes et les canchons controuvées n'ataignent en riens la vraie matere, » etc. (Manuscript of Amiens, 1st redaction of the Prologue.) — « Je ne sçay pas dire toutes les aventures qui leur sourviendrent ; car je n'y fus pas, et ceulx qui m'en ont raconté m'en ont dit en tant de manieres, que je ne sçay à quoy tenir de la verité. J'ay trouvé en ung livre rimé, que ung jogleur a fait, tant de bourdes et de menteries, que je ne les oseroie dire. » (*Les vrayes Chroniques de messire Jehan le Bel*. Bruxelles, 1863, tom. ii, p. 11, A. D. 1342.) — « Je ne m'ose plus avant entremettre de conter comment ces deux

motive in common with the jongleurs and jogleurs, and laments that the age in which he lived should encourage them. He is too an original writer, and no copyist. Of a great part of the events which he relates, he himself appears to have been an eye-witness, and the remainder he has collected apparently from persons who were present. Corroborating the accounts which Froissart has also recorded, he differs frequently in points of detail sufficiently to shew that he could not have had his material from him<sup>1</sup>. Thus on the first landing of Edward and

grandes assemblées se departirent, ne quelles aventures il y eut, car je n'y fus mye; et jasoit que je trouve en ces romans rimés, dont j'ay parlé ci-dessus, biacop de choses, neantmoins, pour ce qu'elles sont plus plaines de mensonge que de verité, je ne les ose dire. » (*Ibid.*, p. 18.)

There is no doubt that by those « rimes and livres rimés » the reverend chroniclers meant chiefly some *chansons de geste* like that known under the name of Cuvelier; but what is become of them, and what must we believe of another of Froissart's statements?

Giving an account of the battle of Poitiers, Froissart says: « Si ay tousjours à mon pover justement enquis et demandé du fait des guerres et des aventures qui en sont avenues, et par especial depuis la grosse bataille de Poitiers, où le noble roy Jehan de France fut prins, car devant j'estoie encores jeune de sens et d'aage. Et ce non obstant si emprins-je assez hardiement, moy yssu de l'escolle, à dittier et à rimer les guerres dessusdites, » etc.

Baldwin, earl of Hainault, found at Sens in Burgundy the life of Charlemagne, and at his death gave it to his sister, Yoland, countess of Saint-Paul, who begged him to write it in the vulgar dialect in prose, « because people delight in the roman, or vulgar dialect, who do not care about Latin; and in the former it will be more perused. Many people have heard it related and sung, but what the story-tellers and jesters say and sing of it are only lies. No rhymed tale is true, all that is said therein is untrue. » (Warton's *History of English Poetry*, ed. 1824, sect. iii, vol. i, p. 139, note h. Cf. Sir Fred. Madden, *William and the Werewolf*, *Introd.*, p. ix.)

<sup>1</sup> Although it may be that Chandos and Froissart had held communication with each other abroad, yet, as Froissart tells us that, in

his army at la Hogue, Chandos in his account is altogether at variance with Froissart, as he also is with that given by Michael de Northbury, as left us by Robert d'Avesbury. He states distinctly that Bertrand, marshal of France, was there to oppose Edward's landing :

LA fut li mareschaux Bertrans,  
Qui moult fut hardy et vaillantz ;  
Et lors quida trop les defendre  
A prendre terre, au voir entendre ;  
Mais la puissance d'Engleterre  
Pristrent là par force la terre. — L. 155.

In the accounts of Froissart and the rest, the French marshal's name is not to be found.

Again, in the treacherous dealings of Aimery, or Amerigo, of Pavia, respecting the surrender of Calais to Geoffroy de Chagny, our author's story stands alone ; he introduces a third person into the business, and mixes up in the affair a sire de Beaujeu, wholly unnoticed by any other authority.

We may here also remark that in the repulse of Chagny, on the night of 31st of December, the King is stated distinctly by our poet to have owed his life to the personal exertions of the Black Prince, in rescuing him from the hands of superior numbers.

The next case we have to adduce in proof of the originality of our writer, is in the minuteness with which he details the exertions of the Cardinal Talleyrand de Périgord, in his endeavours to avoid the necessity of a battle at Poitiers : here he records the words of the legate and the French King, as also those of the Prince

1395, it had been twenty-seven years since he had seen England, and Chandos, as we shall find, that he wrote his poem before 1385, it is not likely that he is indebted to that chronicler for any of his facts, although it is possible that he may have seen the first part of Froissart's chronicles, presented to Queen Philippa before 1360.



of Wales, in his respective interviews with them, and we have no reason to believe that he has drawn upon his imagination for what he relates. To mention only one instance, further, we are indebted to Chandos for an anecdote connected with the same battle, which we do not find elsewhere. It is the proposal of Geoffroy de Charny to the English barons, who had been appointed to confer with the King of France previously to the battle, that they should decide the quarrel by combat, a hundred men being selected from either army.

Other points of difference might also with ease be mentioned; but as these points occur after the time when it is obvious that he was a personal observer of what he writes, they will make nothing for our present purpose.

For instance, to the list of knights given by Froissart, as made by the Duke of Lancaster prior to the battle of Nájera, Chandos adds the names of Prior, Elton and Curzon, not otherwise, that I am aware of, noticed. In the passage also of the army over the Pyrenees, he mentions the names of several persons as forming part of the army, which do not occur in Froissart.

A few words will suffice to shew the plan upon which our herald has proceeded with respect to the composition of his history. His general object has been to record the three great expeditions of the Black Prince, or perhaps we should be speaking more correctly to say, the most brilliant individual actions of his hero — but principally the expedition into Spain, as he expressly states in the introduction to that portion of his poem, when, after noticing,

Or n'est pas raison que je faigne  
D'un noble voiage d'Espaigne;  
Mais bien est raisons que hom l'emprise :  
Car ce fut la plus noble emprise  
Que onques cristiens emprist, — L. 1638.

he goes on :

Ore est bien temps de comencer  
Ma matiere, et moy addresser  
Au purpos où je voil venir  
A ce que je vys avenir ; » — L. 1648.

during the progress of which, at it is implied in the lines quoted, we may believe him to have been actually present.

The poem therefore may be resolved into these two divisions : a summary namely of the wars in which the Black Prince was engaged previous to the time of his espousing the quarrel of Don Pedro, and the history of his life subsequent to that period. The account of the war in Spain, it will be found, occupies more than one third of the whole poem. In the first part of his work, he merely just notices the youth of Edward, his object being to bring him forward as quickly as possible into active life. The landing at la Hogue, the conquest of Cotentin, and the progress of the army is passed over quickly, until the meeting with the French forces at Crécy. His account of the battle is also very short, and evidently not the report of an eye-witness ; nor have we any more minute particulars, until he comes to the description of the battle of Poitiers. Here, as has been before observed, he details the exertions of the Cardinal to procure peace, the challenge of Chargny, with the answer of the Earl of Warwick ; and the battle itself is given at considerable length, probably as he received it from some one who had been present at that great victory <sup>1</sup>. Of the events of the ten following years he notices

<sup>1</sup> One anecdote connected with this victory recorded by Chandos, deserves notice : he states that Isabella, the queen-mother, was allowed to be present to witness the entry of her grand-son into London with the King of France as his prisoner.

There is a letter in old French from Queen Philippa and her

scarcely more than the marriage of the Black Prince with the Countess of Kent, and his proceeding with his bride to Bordeaux, to enter upon the duties of his new appointment as governor of Aquitaine. But at this point the work assumes a different character: he arrives at the chief object of his history, he comes to what he had himself seen and heard, (« à ce que je vys avenir » are his words,) and he gives us a spirited narrative of the civil war in Spain, that part of it at least in which the Prince of Wales was concerned, at considerable length. The application of Don Pedro to the Prince, the conduct of the Free Companies, and Don Enrique, the correspondence with the King of Navarre, the passage of the Pyrenees, with other details respecting the march of the army, the remonstrance of the Bastard with the Prince's

daughter Isabella to the priour of Saint Swithin's at Winchester... to admit Agnes Pateshill into an elemosinary sisterhood belonging to his convent. » Registr. Priorat. S. Swithini Winton., quatern. xix, fol. 4. Apr. 25 (1350 ?)

In the same register, there is a letter in the same language from the Queen-Dowager Isabella to the priour and convent of Winchester, to show that it was at her request that King Edward the third had granted a church in Winchester diocese to the monastery of Leeds in Yorkshire, for their better support; « à trouver sis chagnoignes chantans tous les jours en la chapele du chastel de Ledes pour l'aime Madame Alianore, reyne d'Engleterre, » etc. A. D. 1341. quatern vi.

In one of our notes, p. 345, l. 159, we have spoken of the treatment of Queen Isabella by her son Edward III.; an interesting charter will more completely illustrate the subject: « Rex senescallo suo Vasconie... cum... dederimus... Isabelle, regine Anglie, matri nostre carissime, totam terram que fuit olim vicecomitis de Castellione, ac pedagium de Petrafrice, et quicquid habuimus... apud locum de Langon... et alia bona que in castro et vicecomitatu de Benauges et villa d'Eylaz, salino in Burdegala, » etc. (*Rot. Vasc.* 18 Edw. III. membr. 8. — Rymer, vol. iii, p. 15. A. D. 1344. Cf. p. 18-20, 146.)

reply, are all recorded, whilst the circumstances connected with the battle of Najera, and the battle itself, are especially dwelt upon, as are also the lamentable results consequent upon it. The distress of the army from sickness and want, the illness of the Prince, the unsuccessful applications to Don Pedro, and the retreat to Bordeaux, are told in a simplicity of style, at the same time with a depth of feeling that does honour to the narrator of this sad story; but from this period again our Herald resumes the brief mode of treating his subjects, which has distinguished the early portion of his work. He appears anxious to close « this sad eventful history » as quickly as may be. He passes over actions, where we may believe from Froissart that he was actually present, because his hero was not there, and mentions only in the most casual manner, after the summons of the French King to the Prince to appear before his council at Paris, the retaking of Limoges, the fall of la Rochelle and the unsuccessful attempt of the Prince and his father to relieve Thouars.

The poem closes with a very affecting account of the last illness and death of the Black Prince, to which is added the epitaph upon his tomb in Canterbury cathedral, with a list of the different officers who served under him in his government of Aquitaine. The precise time at which our Herald composed his work appears to be determined with tolerable accuracy by the passage following, in which he is speaking of the affairs of Don Pedro previously to his asking the Black Prince for assistance :

Coment depuis ce jour avint,

Ne passa mye des ans vint ; — L. 1814.

the time he is speaking of being 1366, would give the date of the poem 1386, or perhaps a year or two before.

To the foregoing notice of the Poem and its author, it seems only necessary to say a few words on the volume itself, and its history. It is an oblong octavo, on vellum, containing sixty-one leaves, and fifty-two lines on a page, remarkably well written, ornamented with illuminated capital letters at the beginning of each chapter and with rubricated titles. It was formerly in the collection of Sir William Le Neve, Mowbray, and afterwards Clarencieux, herald <sup>1</sup>, whose collections, at his death, came into the possession of Sir Edward Walker, knight of the Garter, and Sir John Clopton, who had married his daughter. Of the present volume we know nothing further, until it fell into the hands of Dr George Clarke, fellow of All Souls College, and one of the members for the University of Oxford, by whom, with the bulk of his very valuable library, it was bequeathed to Worcester College, its present owners. Affixed to the volume is the following letter upon its contents from Anstis, the well known author of the History of the Garter, whose notice of Chandos Herald we have before seen : « Many thanks for the loan of your MS. of the life and valiant actions of the Black Prince wrote by Chandos Herald. It is very valuable in many respects, not only as being wrote by a contemporary author, who (though he mentions nothing himself of it in this poem) was an eye witness, and employed in some of those actions as far as related to his function, but likewise on many other accounts, as that this Chandos Herald (for I suppose there was never more than one officer by that title, who was the herald of the famous Sir John Chandos)

<sup>1</sup> A sketch of his life is given by Mark Noble in his *History of the College of Arms*, etc. London, 1804, 4to., p. 278. John Weever has an anecdote of his being shipwrecked on the coast of Kent, near Dover, on his return from France in 1629. (*Ancient funeral Monuments within Great Britain*, etc., p. 678.)



is frequently mentioned in Froissart (when I go to the Herald's office, I can send you reference to the pages); and though his master was killed in 44 Edw. III., he, according to the doctrine of that age, that the character of an herald was indelible, retained always the title of *Chandos*, and was afterwards promoted to be Ireland king of arms. The copy is also very fairly written, the names of the Englishmen right spelled, the chronology exact, and the epitaph on the Black Prince, at the end, is the very same that Prince ordered in his will, <sup>1</sup> » etc.

The greater part of the foregoing has already been given in the preface to a previous reproduction of this manuscript made by the late Rev<sup>d</sup>. H. O. Coxe, the librarian of the Bodleian Library, for the Roxburghe Club. It must be stated that the copy of the manuscript in Worcester College, Oxford, has been the work of a person ignorant of the language that he has copied. Numerous words are therein found repeated or omitted; two words are often written as one, or one word divided into two. Syllables also are found repeated or omitted. Mr. Coxe has reproduced the manuscript in this form, without even having attempted to punctuate, or in any way to elucidate it. He has however gone a step farther, and with a great deal of labour tried to translate into English what was unintelligible in French and of course untranslatable. What he has frequently given are not French words of any period of the language, but merely conglomerations of detached syllables, the attempt to translate which into any other language could only end in failure.

<sup>1</sup> It may be interesting to the admirers of Anstis to learn that there is another letter from him on Father Lelong's *Bibliothèque historique de la France*, in the *Mélanges de Clairambault*, Bibl. Nat. of Paris, vol. 495, fol. 761.

I have gone over the manuscript line by line, scanning every syllable; and from my long familiarity, and I think I may say without boasting, my intimate acquaintance with the language of this period, I have reconstituted a critical text which I maintain to be exact in form to the original. In this I have not found any great difficulty, nor have I had any hesitation as to doubtful readings. Some errors of omission there may be, and for these I ask the reader's indulgence.

Acting as I have, am I sure to obtain a bill of indemnity? To plead not guilty, I shall call for help from a recent critic.

In the Preface to *Macaire*, the late Francis Guessard defines exactly how far one ought to have confidence in even the most judiciously executed critical restitutions: «It results from what precedes, he says, that my attempt may appear excusable, provided that I have established the text of *Macaire*, if not at least absolutely what it was, at least what it might have been, that is to say, provided that for an inadmissible word or expression I have substituted a word, or a locution, current at the time when, in my opinion, the original of which I have tried to give an idea, was written.» He does not boast of guessing, which would be, he says, almost impossible, but also almost useless. In a word, he defines very well what may be expected from this new method of which he has made, in France, the first, necessarily a little hazardous, experiment<sup>1</sup>.

In the English rendering I have striven to be literal and to employ the corresponding English word, when possible, as an equivalent. Chandos Herald avails himself often of a poet's licence in padding out his lines to the requisite length by a few set expressions affirming for

<sup>1</sup> *Macaire*, etc. Paris, 1866, 12mo., p. cxxv, cxxvi. — *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes*, t. xliii, 1882, p. 572, 576, 577.

the most part his veracity. The frequent repetition of these becomes somewhat banal and give a bald look to the prose translation; yet I have judged it right to render them all literally into English without any greater variety of expression than the original presents. Any attempt at elegance of expression would have been out of place and only misleading for the English reader, for whom of course the translation is intended, to aid in reading the original.

One word more, and this preface, commenced by the Rev. H. O. Coxe, will be brought to a close.

The last chapter of the Poem of Chandos, containing a list of the names of the great officers of the Black Prince, offers a remarkable particularity: the lines which compose it, only conceal under an imperfect disguise a pretence of being verses. Is this a signe of fatigue on the part of the author? or, is it the lucubration of an ill-advised continuator?

In presence of obstacles much greater than those offered by the text of the chronicle itself, we have been obliged, if not to halt, at least to advance with measured steps and prudence.





## ERRATA

---

- Page 39 : heading. — Read : *exilla*.
- 88, l. 1322. — Read : *Lagoulain*.
- 135, last line but one of translation. — Read : *three hundred and sixty years*.
- 194. In the numeration of the marginal figures for l. 2890 read 2860 and so on till the end.
- 345, Note l. 1509. — Read : *Norfolk*.



# VIE ET GESTES

DU

## PRINCE NOIR

---

*Cy comence une partie de la vie et des faits d'armes  
d'un très-noble Prince de Gales et d'Aquitaine,  
qu'avoit à noun Edward, eigné filtz au roi  
Edward tierce, queux Dieux assoile.*

O RE veit-hom au temps jadyz  
Que ceux qui faisoient beaux dyts  
Estoient tenu pur auteur  
Ou pur ascun amentevour  
De monstrar les bons conissance 5  
Pur prendre en lour coers remembrance  
De bien et de honour recevoir;  
Mais hom dit, et si est-ce voir,

---

*Here beginneth a part of the life and deeds of arms of a right  
noble Prince of Wales and Aquitaine, Edward by name,  
eldest son of King Edward the Third, whom God absolve.*

N ow it was seen in days gone by that those who wrote  
fine poems were accounted as authors, or as a sort  
of recorders, whose office was to exhibit to the virtuous a  
knowledge which might enable them to take to heart,  
how to receive wealth and honour ; but man declares, and  
it is evident enough, that there is nothing that fadeth not

Qu'il n'est chose qui ne desseche  
 Ne qu'il n'est arbres qui ne seche 10  
 Qu'un soul : c'est luy arbres de vie ;  
 Mais cils arbres en ceste vie  
 Florist et botonne en toutz temps.  
 Ci ne serai plus arestans ;  
 ✓ Car combien que hom n'en face compte 15  
 Et que hom tiendrait plus grant acompte  
 D'un janglour ou d'un faux menteur,  
 D'un jogelour ou d'un bourdeur,  
 Qui voudroit faire une grimache,  
 Ou contreferoit le lymache, 20  
 Dount hom purroit faire risée,  
 Que hom ne feroit sans demorée  
 ✓ D'un autre qui sauroit bien dire ;  
 Car cils ne sount, saunz contredire,  
 Mie bien venuz à la court 25  
 En le monde qui ore court.

---

away, neither any tree that dieth not, save one alone, the tree of life. But that tree in this world flowers and fades in all times. Here I will not longer stop ; for although it would not be accounted of by men, who would rather regard a boaster or a false liar, a jester, or a buffoon, who would deal in grimace, imitate the slug at which they might laugh, which they would do without delay at another who might know how to speak well ; for these, it must be confessed, are not welcomed at court nor in the world as it now is. But although men do not

Mais coment que hom ne tiegne rien  
 De ceux qui demonstrent le bien,  
 Si ne se doit-hom pas tenir  
 De beaux ditz faire et retenir 30  
 Cils que s'en scevent entremettre,  
 Ains les doivent en livre mettre,  
 Par quoy après ce qu'ils sont mort  
 Soit fait d'eux un juste recort.  
 Car c'est almoigne et charité 35  
 De bien dire et de verité;  
 Car bien ne fut unques perduz  
 Qu'en ascun temps ne feust renduz.  
 Pur ce voil-je mettre m'entente,  
 Car volentés à ce me tempte, 40  
 De faire et recorder beaux ditz  
 Et de novel et de jadyz.

---

prize those who demonstrate what is good, so neither  
 must those refrain, from composing good histories, who  
 have the capacity, rather ought they to write them in  
 a book, by which (means) a just record may be made  
 of them after they are dead, for it is alms and charity to  
 speak well and truly, because good is never lost, but is  
 ever sometime repaid. Therefore I will put my intent,  
 being tempted by my impulse, to make and record fine  
 poems both new and of times past.

*Or cy comence la matiere.*

**O**RE est bien temps de comencer  
 Ma matiere et moy adresser 45  
 Au purpose où je voil venir.  
 Ore me laisse Dieux avenir,  
 Car je voil mettre m'estudie  
 A faire et recorder la vie  
 Du plus vaillant prince du mounde, 50  
 Si come il tourne à le reounde,  
 Ne qui fut puis les temps Claruz,  
 Jule Cesaire ne Artuz,  
 Ensi comme vous oïr purrez,  
 Mais que de bon coer l'escoutez ! 55  
 C'est d'un franc Prince d'Aquitaine,  
 Qui fut, c'est bien chose certayne,  
 Filtz au noble roi Edward,  
 Qui n'avoit pas le coer coward,

---

*Now here commences the matter.*

**I**T is now good time to commence my subject and address myself to the purpose whereat I would arrive. For if God give me time, I will give my mind to observe and record the life of the most valiant Prince, such as has not been, if you seek the world round, since the days of Clarus, of Julius Cæsar or of Arthur, as you may also hear but if you listen with a good will : it is of a noble Prince of Aquitaine, who was, as is well known, son of the noble King Edward, who had no coward heart, and

Et filtz Philippe la roïne, 60  
 Qui fut la perfite racine  
 De tout honour et nobleté,  
 De sens, valour et largité.

*Des nobles condiciouns du Prince avant-nommé.*

CIL franc Prince dount je vous dy,  
 Depuis le jour qu'il fut nasquy 65  
 Ne pensa fors que loiauté,  
 Franchise, valour et bounté,  
 Et si fut garniz de proesce.  
 Tant fut cil Prince de hautesce  
 Qu'il volt toutz les jours de sa vie 70  
 Mettre toute son estudie  
 En tenir justice et droiture,  
 Et là prist-il sa noriture.  
 Très dont que il fut en enfance,  
 De sa voluté noble et france 75

of Queen Philippa, who was the very root of all honour  
 and nobleness, of feeling, of valour and of bounty.

*Of the noble qualities of the Prince above named.*

THIS frank Prince of whom I tell you, from the day that  
 he was born thought only of loyalty, of free  
 courage and of gentleness, and endowed was he with  
 prowess. So much was this Prince of such lofty mind  
 that he wished all the days of his life to give all his mind  
 to upholding justice and integrity, and therein was he  
 nurtured. From the time of his infancy, of his own noble

Prist la doctrine de largesce ;  
 Car jolieté et noblesce  
 Fut en son coer parfitement  
 Très le primer commencement  
 De sa vie et de sa joefnesse. 80  
 Ore est bon temps que je m'adresse  
 A bouter avant ma matiere,  
 Coment il fut, c'est chose clere,  
 Si prus, si hardi, si vaillant  
 Et si curtois et si sachant ; 85  
 Et si bien amot seinte Eglise  
 De bon coer, et sur toute guyse  
 La très-hauteine Trinité ;  
 La feste et la solempnité  
 En comencea à sustenir 90  
 Très le primer de son venir,  
 Et le sustint toute sa vie  
 De bon coer, saunz penser envie.

---

and free will he learned liberality ; for goodness and nobleness were in his heart perfectly from the first commencement of his life and of his youth. Now it is good time that I address myself to the commencement of my subject, how he was, it is well known, so preux, so hardy and so valiant, so courteous and so wise, and loved so well Holy Church with all his heart, and, above all, the most Holy Trinity ; the festival and holy day he began to uphold from his earliest days, and upheld them all his life heartily, without thinking of any harm.



*De la passage du roy et du Prince, son filtz, en  
Normandie oue moult noble baronie.*

ORE ay-je voulu recorder  
De sa joefnesse, au voir counter, 95  
Ore est raison que je vous counte  
De ce dount hom doit faire accompte :  
C'est du fait de chivalerie  
(En sa personne fut norie),  
En laquele il regna xxx. ans. 100  
Noblement il usa ses temps ;  
Car j'oïseroie dire ensy  
Que puis le temps que Dieux nasquy  
Ne fut plus vaillant de son corps,  
Sicome orrez en mes records, 105  
Si voillez oïr et entendre  
A matiere à qui je voil tendre.

---

*Of the passage of the King and Prince, his son, into Normandy  
with many noble lords.*

HAVING now wished to record what is true of his youth, it is reasonable that I tell you of that which should interest all men : that is, of the deeds of chivalry, that in him were nurtured, in which he reigned thirty years. Nobly did he use his time, for I will venture to say thus, that since the birth of Jesus Christ there was none more stalworth, as you shall hear in my record, if you will listen and give attention to the matter I wish to offer.

Bien savez que lui noble roi,  
 Son pere, à très-graunt arroi,  
 Par sa haute et noble puissance 110  
 Fist guerre au roialme de France,  
 En disant qu'il devoit avoir  
 La corone, sachez pur voir ;  
 Dount en sustenant la querelle  
 Il maintint guerre moult cruelle, 115  
 Laquele dura si longtems.  
 Ore avint que droit à ce temps  
 Passa la mer en Normandie  
 Ovesque noble baronie,  
 Barons, banerers et countes. 120  
 Il arriva en Constantyn.  
 Là ot main bon chivaler fyn,  
 De Warrewyk luy noble counte,  
 De quoy hom devoit faire counte,  
 Et luy counte de Northamtone, 125  
 Qui moult estoit noble persone,

---

Know then assuredly that the noble King, his father, with  
 a mighty host, in his high and noble power, made war  
 against the realm of France, saying that the crown, you  
 know in truth, was his by right ; then in sustaining the  
 quarrel he maintained a bloody war, that lasted so long.  
 Now it was just at this time that he crossed the sea  
 into Normandy with many noble lords, barons, and  
 bannerers and counts. He arrived in Cotentin. There was  
 many a good knight, the noble Earl of Warwick, who was  
 to be held in high esteem, and the Earl of Northampton,

Cils de Suffolk et de Stafford,  
Qui ont le coer hardi et fort,  
Et le counte de Sarsburi,  
Et cil d'Oxford auxi, 130  
Et si fut de Beauchamp Jehans,  
Raouls de Cobham luy vaillans,  
Monsieur Bartholmeus de Burghès,  
Qui moult fut hardi en ses faits;  
Et de Brian le bon Guyon ; 135  
Richard de la Vache le bon ;  
Et le bon Richard Talebot,  
En qui moult graünt proesce ot ;  
Si fut Chaundos et Audelée,  
Qui bien feroient de l'espée ; 140  
Et le bon Thomas de Holand,  
Qui en luy eut proesce grand ;  
Et des autres moult grant foisons,  
Dount je ne say dire les nouns.

---

who was a right noble person, the Earls of Suffolk and of Stafford, who had hearts hardy and brave ; the Earl of Salisbury, and him also of Oxford, so also was there John Beauchamp, the valiant Ralph de Cobham, Sir Bartholomew de Burghees, who was very bold in his doings ; and the good Guyon de Brian, Richard de la Vache the good ; and the good Richard Talbot, in whom much prowess was ; so were Chaundos and Audeley, who struck well with the sword ; and the good Thomas de Holland, a man of much prowess ; and a very great number of others, whose names I cannot tell.

*Comment le poair d'Engleterre arriva en Constantin,  
et le Prince et altres seignlours furent faitz chivalers,  
et le roy de France en eut nouvelle.*

A RIVEZ fut le poair d'Engleterre ; 145  
Et quant il devoit prendre terre,  
Là fist luy Prince chivalier  
Luy roy, qui tant fut à priser,  
Le comte de la Marche auxi,  
Et le counte de Sarsburi, 150  
Johan de Mountagu, son frere,  
Et des autres, c'est chose clere,  
Plus que ne vous sauroie dire ;  
Et bien sachez, sauns contredire,  
Là fut li mareschaux Bertrans, 155  
— Qui moult fut hardy et vaillantz ;  
Et lors quida trop les defendre  
A prendre terre, au voir entendre,

---

*How the English power arrived in Cotentin, and the Prince and  
the other nobles were made knights, and the king of France  
had tidings of the same.*

THE English host arrived ; and when they had come  
to land, there the King, who was of so high esteem,  
made the Prince a knight, as also the Earl of March and  
the Earl of Salisbury, John de Montagu, his brother, with  
others, as is well known, more than I know how to tell  
you ; but know you will without contradiction, there was  
the Marshal Bertrans, who was right hardy and valiant ; and  
who then thought to prevent them from landing, the truth

Mais la puissance d'Engleterre  
Pristrent là par force la terre. 160  
/ Là y eut-il fait d'armes tant  
Que en eust comparé Rolant,  
Et Olyver et le Danoys,  
Ou Guy, qui tant par fut curtoys.  
Là pooyt-hom veoir des preus, 165  
Des hardis et des outrageus ;  
/ Là fut le Prince noble et gent,  
Qui moult ot bel comencement.  
Par tout Constantyn chivacha  
Et tout ardi et exila, 170  
Le Hogge, Barflew, Carenten,  
Seint-Lou, Bayeus, jesques à Ken,  
Là où ils conquirent le pont,  
Et là combatirent-ils moult.  
Par force ils pristrent celle ville, 175  
Et le counte de Tankarville

---

to understand; but the power of England landed there by force. There were done such feats of arms as might compare with Roland and Oliver and the Dane, or Guy, who was so courteous. There might one see the preux, the hardy and the rash; there was the noble and gentle Prince, who made a right good beginning. He rode victorious throughout all Cotentin and burnt and ravaged, La Hogue, Barfleur and Carentan, Saint-Lo, Bayeux, all up to Caen, where they gained the bridge, and there they much fought. They took the town by storm, and the Count de Tankarville, and the

Et le counte d'Eu y fut pris.  
 Là ot luy noble Prince pris,  
 Car de bien faire fut engrans,  
 Et si n'ot que dis-oept ans. 180  
 Et luy mareschaux chivacha,  
 Jeskes à Paris n'aresta ;  
 Au roy ad counté les noveles,  
 Queux ne lui feurent mie beles.  
 Tiel merveille ot, c'est chose voire, 185  
 Que à paines le pooit croire ;  
 Car pas ne quidoit que tiel gent  
 Éussent tant de hardiment.  
 Lors fist assembler son poair  
 Parmy France, sachez pur voer ; 190  
 N'y demora duc ne counte  
 De quoy hom pooit faire counte,  
 Baron, baneret ne bachelier  
 Que toutz il ne fist assembler.

---

Count d'Eu also were there taken. There the noble Prince had the prize, for he was eager to do well, though only eighteen years of age. And the Marshal rode away, nor stopped till he arrived at Paris, and told the news to the King, nor were they to him good tidings. Such marvel he heard, it was true, that scarce could he credit it; for he could not believe that such a people would have had such hardihood. Then the King assembled his power throughout France, know for truth; there kept not back duke nor count among them of any fame, baron, banneret nor bachelor, who did not there assemble.

*Coment le roy de France manda au roy de Beaume pur  
luy aider, et le roy de Beaume vint, et les Englois  
passerent le pont de Poissy et chivacherent parmy  
Caux.*

A	u roy de Beaume manda,	195
Que de bon coer auxi ama,		
Qu'amenast en sa compaignie		
Son filtz, qui fut roy d'Almanye,		
Et le bon Johan de Baiumont		
De Haynau, qu'homme prisoit moult.	200	
A quoy faire vous counteroye		
La matiere et alongeroye ?		
Bien quidoit sa terre defendre		
Au roy Englois, à voir entendre,		
Et assetz petit le prisoit	205	
Et moult forment le maneçoit ;		

---

*How the King of France sent to the king of Bohemia to assist  
him, and the King of Bohemia came ; and how the English  
passed the bridge of Poissy and marched through Caux.*

**T**o the King of Bohemia, whom also he loved heartily,  
he sent, to ask him to bring in his company his son,  
who was King of Germany, and the good John de Beaumont  
of Hainau, whom men much prized. Why should I  
relate to you the matter at length? He thought well to  
defend his land against the King of England, to hear the  
truth, and held him of small account, and threatened him



Mais après, ensi qu'il me semble,  
Luy roy oue luy Prince ensemble  
Par Normandie chivacherent  
Et tout le païs exillèrent. 210  
Mainte graunt escarmuche firent,  
Et maint bon home toutz deux prirent  
Et vindrent au pount de Poissi ;  
Mais la matiere dit ensi  
Que le pount lors estoit rumpuz. 215  
Mais tant firent que de grauntz fuz  
Par force refirent le pount,  
Dount François esmerveillez sount ;  
Et passerent par un matyn.  
Parmy Caux pristrent lour chemyn, 220  
Ardantz, gastantz et exillantz,  
Dount moult furent François dolantz,  
Et crierent à haute vois :  
« Où est Philippes, notre roys ? »

---

very boldly ; but after that, as it seems to me, the King with the Prince together rode throughout Normandy, and ravaged all the country. Many great skirmishes they made, and both took many a good man, and came to the bridge of Poissy ; but my subject says also that the bridge was there broken down. But they wrought so that with much wood they rebuilt the bridge, at which the French marvelled much ; and they passed the river in the morning. They then took their way through Caux, burning, spoiling, and ravaging, to the great grief of the inhabitants, who cried with a loud voice : « Where is Philip, our king. »

*Coment le roy de France fist assembler à Paris son  
grant poair encontre le roy d'Engleterre et son host,  
et coment le roy d'Engleterre ouc son poair passa  
l'eau de Somme.*

A Parys fut, à voir juger ; 225  
En ce temps fist apparailler  
Son graunt poair et amasser,  
Et là fist ses gents assembler,  
Et dist que poi se priseroit  
Si grant vengeance n'en preudoit ; 230  
Car bien quidoit avoir enclos  
Les Englois, selonc mon purpos,  
Droit entre la Sayne et la Somme ;  
Et là endroit, ce est la somme,  
Les quidoit-il trop bien combattre. 235  
Mès les Englois, pur eux esbatre,

---

*How the King of France made assemble at Paris his great  
power against the King of England and his host, and how the  
King of England with his forces passed the river Somme.*

HE was at Paris, as one may judge ; at this time he  
ordered all his great force to get ready and come  
together, and there made his people assemble ; and said that  
he should little value himself, if he did not take great ven-  
geance ; for he thought easily to have shut in the English,  
according to my meaning, right between the Seine and the  
Somme ; and there was the place in short, he thought it best  
to engage them. But the English, to amuse themselves, gave

Mistrent tout en feu et à flame.  
Là firent mainte veufe dame  
Et maint povre enfant orphanyn  
Tant chivacherent soir et main 240  
Qu'ils vindrent al eawe de Somme.  
De l'autre part avoit maint homme;  
Car là feurent, n'en doutez mye,  
Les communes de Pikardye,  
Et si estoit, sachez de fit, 245  
Monsieur Godemard de Faït.  
Moult parfut large la riviere  
De flum de la mer radde et fiere,  
Dount Englois moult se merveilloient  
Coment par delà passeroient; 250  
Mais lui Prince oue le corps gent  
Fist eslire chivalers cent  
Des meillours de son avant-garde,  
Et les fist aler prendre garde

---

the whole (country) to fire and flame. There made they many a widowed dame and many a poor child an orphan. So they rode night and day till they came to the river Somme; on the other side they found many assembled, for there, ye need not doubt, were the commons of Picardy, and there, as you may know for certain, was messire Godemar du Faÿ. The river was very wide from the strong and rapid tide, so that the English much marvelled how they could effect a passage; but the Prince with noble bearing made them choose an hundred knights from the best of

Coment ils purroient passer. 255  
Et cils, qui furent à loer,  
Chivachoient tout environ  
Taunt qu'ount trouvé un compaignon  
Qui lour ad enseigné le pas  
De Somme, je ne vous ment pas. 260  
Et toutz les cent à une fie  
En l'eawe la launce baissie  
Se sont feru sur lour coursers.  
Moult furent vaillantz chivalers;  
Et lui Prince venoit après, 265  
Qui adès les sevoit de près.  
Graunt escarmuche ot sur le pas  
De Somme, je ne vous ment pas;  
Fort combatoient chivaler  
Et là de traire et de launcier 270  
Se tenoient d'ambedeux parts;  
Mais assetz tost furent espars

---

his van-guard, and made them go to ascertain how they might cross. And these, who were praiseworthy, rode all round about, until they had found some one who shewed them the ford of the Somme, I do not lie to you. And all the hundred threw themselves at once upon their chargers with lowered lances into the water; very valiant knights were they. And afterwards came the Prince, who always followed them closely. There was a great skirmish in the crossing of the Somme, I do not lie to you; and the knights fought well, and there shooting and throwing of lances continued on both sides; but very soon were the Picards

Et mys à fuyte lui Picard  
Ovesque monsieur Godemard ;  
Mais oue l'aÿde de Dieu 275  
Tout passa en temps et en lieu.

*Coment le roy de France vint oue trois roys et son grant  
poair vers Crescy pur combatre les Englois.*

QUANT luy roy Philip l'oÿ dire,  
Moult avoit à coer dol et ire,  
Et dist : « Par seint Poul le baron,  
Je me doute de traïson ; » 280  
Mais nepurquant moult soi hasta,  
Parmy Abeville passa,  
— Moult parfut riche ses arois.  
Là fut lui quartime des rois :  
Cils de Maiole et de Baueme, 285  
Et si fut lui rois d'Alemeyne.

---

broken and put to flight, with messire Godemar ; but by  
the help of God all passed over in good time and place.

*How the King of France came with three Kings and his great  
force towards Crécy to engage the English.*

WHEN King Philip heard this, his heart was filled  
with grief and wrath, and he said : « By St. Paul  
the baron, I doubt there has been treachery. » But  
nevertheless he made great haste and passed through  
Abbeville. Very rich was his array. There were with him  
four Kings : those of Majorca and Bohemia, with the King

Assez y avoit ducz et countes,  
Tant que ce estoit un graunt acountes.  
— Tant chivacherent saunz nul sy,  
Que droit assez près de Cressy 290  
En Pontieu là fut herbergez.  
Là fut le roy Edward logez  
Et luy Prince, si Dieu me garde,  
Qui cel jour avoit l'avant-garde.  
Là n'orent gaires demouré  
Que de deux partz hom ad counté, 295  
Que si près furent ambedoy  
Que chescun purra voir le roy  
De l'un l'autre et l'ordenement.  
Lors se leva le cri forment  
Et comencent à ordeigner 300  
Lour batailles et devyser.

---

also of Germany. Enough were there of dukes and counts, so that it was a great list. So they rode without halting until very near Crécy in Ponthieu where they took up their quarters. There was also King Edward quartered and the Prince who, so God help me, had on this day the vanguard. They did not remain there long, for on both sides, it was said that both parties were so near each other, that each could see the King and ranks of his adversary. Then they raised loudly the cry (of arms), and began to order and devise the battle.

*De la bataille de Crescy, et coment le roy de Beaume  
et le duc de Lorraine, viij. countes et plusours autres  
seignours, furent occis à mesme la bataille, et trois  
roys et plusours autres s'en departirent desconfitz.*

A quoy faire vous counteroye  
La matiere et alongeroye ?  
Celuy jour ot une bataille  
Si horrible que, tout sanz faille, 305  
Unques ne fut corps si hardis  
Que n'en pooit estre esbahis.  
Qui véist venir la puissance  
Et le poair du roy de France,  
Graunt merveille seroit à dire, 310  
Espris de mautalant et de ire  
Devant ensemble entre-acountier  
En faisant d'armes le mestier

---

*Of the battle of Crécy, and how the King of Bohemia and the  
Duke of Lorraine, eight Counts and many other lords, were  
slain at the said battle, and three Kings and many others left  
the field defeated.*

WHY should I relate to you the matter at length ?  
On this day was the battle fought, and so dreadful  
was it, that truly never was there man so hardy, who  
would not have been astounded. To see the mighty hosts  
advance and the forces of the French King, marvellous  
would it be to tell, how seized by hatred and anger,  
before together encountering and using their arms, so



Si très-chivalerousement  
 Que unques puis l'Avenement 315  
 Ne vist hom bataille plus fiere.  
 Là veoit-hom maynte baniere  
 Pointe de fyn or, et de soye ;  
 Et là, si le vray Dieux m'avoye,  
 Englois estoient tout à pez 320  
 Com cils qui furent afaitez  
 De combatre et entalentez.  
 Là fut lui Prince de bountez,  
 Qui en l'avant-garde restoit.  
 Si vaillamment soi gouvernoit 325  
 Que merveille fut à veïr.  
 A paine lessoit envaïr  
 Nul hom, tant fut hardyz ne fortz.  
 Quei vous feroie-je long recortz ?  
 Tant combatirent celuy jour, 330  
 Que Englois avoyent le meillour.

---

chivalrously they fought, that never since the Advent, did man behold a fiercer struggle. There was to be seen many a banner painted of fine work of gold, and of silk ; and there, so help me the God of truth, were the English all on foot, as those who were ready and right eager to fight. There was the good Prince, who in the vanguard remained. So valiantly did he acquit himself, that it was marvellous to see ; scarce for a moment did he cease to attack, there was none so hardy nor so bold. Why should I make a long record ? So did they fight on this day, that

Et là fut mort luy noble roys  
De Beaume, qui fut curtoys ;  
Et le bon duc de Loherayne,  
Qui moult fut noble capitayne ; 335  
Et de Flaundres le noble counte,  
Dount hom fesoit un grant acounte ;  
Et le bon counte d'Alencion,  
Qui fut frere au roy Philippon ;  
Cils de Joiï et de Harcourt. 340  
Que vous diroye à brief mot court ?  
Un roy et un duc et oept countes,  
Et ensi com dit luy acountes,  
Plus que lx. banerès  
Furent illoec mortz tout frès, 345  
Et trois roys qui s'en departirent,  
Et plusours aultres s'enfuyrent,  
Dount je ne say mie le noubre,  
Ne n'est pas droit que je le noubre ;

---

the English had the best of it. And there fell the noble King of Bohemia, who was courteous; and the good Duke of Lorraine, a right noble captain, with the noble Count of Flanders, whom people highly esteemed; and the good Count d'Alençon, who was brother of King Philip, Counts de Jouy and d'Harcourt. What should I say in short? One King, one Duke, eight Counts, and also, as the account says, more than sixty bannerets were there all slain. And there were three Kings who retreated, and many others who fled, whose number I neither know nor should I do

Mais je sai bien que celui jour  
Luy noble Prince de valour, 350  
Si c'ome doit bien prendre garde,  
De la bataille ot l'avant-garde,  
Car par luy et par ses vertus  
Fut luy champ gaignez et vaincus. 355

*Coment après le bataille de Crescy le roy de France  
s'en ala vers Paris, et le roy de Engleterre oue son  
host s'en departist vers Caleys.*

Luy roy Philippes à Parys  
S'en ala, qui moult fut marys.  
En son corage regretoit  
Ses hommes que perduz avoit.  
Et luy noble roy d'Engleterre, 360  
Qui fut dignes de tenir terre,

---

right to enumerate. But I know well that on that day the noble and valorous Prince, as one whose duty it was to take great care, had the vanguard of the battle; therefore by him and his courage was the field gained and conquered.

*How after the battle of Crécy the King of France retreated towards Paris, and the King of England with his forces moved upon Calais.*

THE King Philip then retreated towards Paris, much vexed. In his heart he was grieved for the men he had lost; and the noble King of England, who was worthy to hold land, rested upon the field on that night;

En chaump cele noet soy logea,  
Qui moult grant honour conquesta.  
Les mortz fist aler visiter  
Pur conoistre et pur aviser, 365  
Et trova le roy de Beaigne,  
Qui gisoit mort sur la champaigne ;  
Carker le fist en une bere  
Et mettre sur une litere  
A covert d'un riche drap d'ore ; 370  
Arere le tramist, et lore  
De la place se deslogea,  
Par devers Caleis chivacha.  
Pour ce que jeo ne mente mye,  
Celle très-noble chivachie, 375  
Dount je fai mencion ycy,  
Ce fut en l'an que Dieux nasqui  
Mille trois centz quarant et sis,  
Et ensy com dist luy escriis,

---

where he had gained such great honour. He caused the dead to be examined, to discover who they were and to order for the best, and he found the King of Bohemia, who lay dead upon the field; he caused him to be put into a coffin and placed on a litter covered with a rich cloth of gold, and sent him to the rear; and then moving from that place, he rode towards Calais. That I may speak truly, this very noble achievement, which I mention here, was in the year from the birth of Christ one thousand three hundred and forty six, and according to the written

La viegle de Seint-Bartholomeu, 380  
Que, ovesque la grace de Dieu,  
Le roy ceste bataille fist,  
Où tant de noblesse il acquist.

*Comment le roy d'Engleterre oue son grant poair assegea  
la ville de Caleys par xvij. moys, et le roy de  
France n'oesa lever l'assege : par quoy ladite ville  
se rendi au roy d'Engleterre.*

A PRÈS vindrent devant Caleys,  
Là ont-ils fait moult de beaux faits ; 385  
Là tint siege le noble roy,  
Qui fut oue tout son arroy  
Dis-oept moys en un tenant.  
Illoeques demuroient tant  
Que la ville fut afamée 390  
Et que là vint sanz demorée

---

account, the vigil of Saint Bartholomew, that by the grace of God, the King fought this battle, where he acquired such honour.

*How the King of England with his great host besieged the town of Calais for eighteen months, and the King of France dared not raise the siege : wherefore the said town surrendered to the King of England.*

AFTER that they came before Calais, there they did many a feat of arms ; and the noble King, who with all his host was there, kept siege for eighteen months continually. There they staid so long, that the town was reduced to famine, and then came there in haste the King

Luy roy Philippe pur lever  
L'assege, sicom j'ay oï counter ;  
Mais ensi fut lui host logie  
Et la ville si assegie 395  
Que le roy Philippe n'oesa  
Lever l'assege, ainz retourna.  
— Et luy noble roy d'Engleterre  
Tint illoec piece de terre.  
Mainte escarmuche et maint assaut 400  
Y faisoient et bas et haut  
Tant que la ville se rendy,  
Priantz au roy pur Dieu mercy  
Qu'à mercy il les vousist prendre.  
Et ensement, à voir entendre, 405  
Fut Caleis par force conquise  
Par la puissance et par l'emprise  
— Du noble roy et de son filtz,  
— Le Prince, qui tant fut hardiz.

---

Philip to raise the siege, as I have heard it said ; but the (English) forces were so disposed and the town so beleaguered, that King Philip dared not raise the siege, but returned. The noble King of England held there a piece of ground. Many skirmishes and attacks were made on every side, so that the town surrendered, praying the King for God's mercy that he would treat them mercifully. And thus, to understand the truth, was Calais reduced by the power and high emprise of the noble King and his son, the Prince, who was so valiant.

*Coment le roy d'Engleterre oue son poair retourna en Engleterre, et par traïson la ville de Caleis deust avoir esté vendu as Franceis ; et le roy d'Engleterre oue son poair là-contre restioia, en tant qu'il eust esté pris s'il n'eust esté rescouuz par le Prince, son filtz.*

A PRÈS ceo ne demura guere 410

Qu'ils revindrent en Engleterre,

Luy roy et luy Prince auxi

Et tout li chivalers hardy,

Par une triewe qu'ils avoient.

En lour païs se demuroient

415

Tanque il avint que par traitié,

Par traïoun et par pecchié,

Devoit estre Caleis venduz,

Au seigniour de Biaugeu renduz,

A monsieur Geffrey de Charny,

420

Par un Lumbard, qui Amery

*How the King of England with his army returned to England, and the town of Calais was to have been treacherously sold to the French ; and how the King of England with his forces remained there so long, that he would have been taken had he not been rescued by the Prince, his son.*

AFTER this there was no delay before they returned to England, the King and the Prince also with all their hardy knights, under a truce they had made ; and remained at home, until they had tidings that by treaty, by treason and by perfidy, Calais was to be sold and given up to a Sire de Beaujeu, to messire Geoffroy de Charny, by a Lombard of Pavia, who Aimery was called, and there



Estoit appelez, de Pavye.  
Et là furent de Pikardye  
Et de Fraunce tout ly baron,  
Au meins la pluis grant fuÿson ; 425  
Mais là fut, à voir acountier,  
Luy noble roys à deliverer.  
Et luy noble Prince, son filtz,  
Qui moult fut vaillant et hardyz,  
Là combati si vaillamment, 430  
Qu'il rescout veritablement  
Par force son piere, le roy.  
Là furent mis en desarroy  
Fraunçois et Pikards celle nuyt,  
Dount plusours Engloys grand deduyt 435  
Faisoient contre lour retour ;  
Car là furent tout luy meillour  
Du noble païs d'Engleterre,  
Qui pur graunt los et pris conquere

---

were of Picardy and France all the nobles, at least the greater number ; but there were, to tell the truth, the noble King to save. And the noble Prince, his son, who was right valiant and hardy, there fought valiantly, so that he rescued in good truth by his might the King, his father. There were put to the rout that night Frenchmen and those of Picardy, in preventing whose return many English took great delight ; for there were all the best of the noble land of England, who to obtain honour and credit were

S'i furent vaillamment prové. 440  
Là furent pris pur verité  
Les plus nobles barons de France,  
Et deceu de volenté france;  
Que unques mais le roy d'Engleterre  
N'eut en une heure tant à fere 445  
Come il eut en celle heure adont,  
Car plusours gentz recorder ont  
Que le roy eüst esté pris  
N'eut esté le Prince, son filtz.  
Mais sa puissance et sa hautesse 450  
Et sa très-parfite proesse  
Rescoute illoec le roy, son piere :  
Si ne doit pas ceste matiere  
Estre en nulle estorie oblie.  
Ore est bien droit que j'el vous die. 455

---

most stoutly bent. There were taken in good truth the most noble barons of France; and of his own free will never had the King of England so busy an hour, as he had on this same day. For many have said that the King would have been taken, had it not been for the Prince, his son. But his strength and his bearing and all perfect prowess, rescued there the King, his father : so ought not this event in any history to be forgotten. Then it is well fit that I tell it to you.

*Coment après le rescous de Caleys le roy d'Engleterre  
oue son poair y retourna. Après ceo avint la bataille  
sur la mer, et là furent les Espainardes occiz et  
descounfitz.*

EN Engleterre retournerent  
Et moult grant joie demenerent,  
Grant joie firent lour amy  
Et toutes les dames auxi.  
La roÿgne les festoia, 460  
Qui son seignour de coer ama.  
Donc dist le roy à sa mulier :  
« Dame, car veulliez festoier  
Votre filtz; car jeo fusse pris  
Si n'eust esté par son grant pris. 465  
Mais par lui fui-jeo socurruz. »  
— « Sire, fait-ele, bienvenuz

---

*How after the recovery of Calais the King of England with his  
forces returned home. Afterwards they had an engage-  
ment at sea with the Spaniards, who were slain and put  
to flight.*

TO England the army returned, where very great joy  
awaited them; right glad were all their friends, and  
all the ladies also. The Queen, who loved her lord from  
her heart, celebrated their return with festivities. Then said  
the King to his wife: « Lady dear, be pleased to entertain  
your son; for I should have been taken had it not been for his  
great emprise; but by him was I rescued. » — « Sire, said

Soit-il, et vous auxi à moy ;  
 Si m'est avis que dire doy,  
 A bone héure fut-il nez. » 470  
 Là furent conjoÿ assetz  
 Luy chivaler et luy baron.  
 Daunser et festoier veist-hom  
 Et faire festes et reveaux.  
 Moult parfut bon le temps entre eaux, 475  
 Et là fut amours et noblesse  
 Et jolieté et proesse.  
 Ensi demorerent longtemps  
 Tant qu'il avint à ceo temps  
 Que à Lescluse assemblez estoient 480  
 Niefs d'Espaigne, queux se vantoient  
 De passer en despit du roy,  
 Maugré luy et tout son arroy ;  
 Dount le roy, par son vasselage,  
 Fist assembler son graunt barnage, 485

she, welcome are you both to me ; it is my mind, and I  
 ought to say it, in a good hour was he born. » There were  
 very kindly entertained knights and barons. Dancing and  
 feasting might there be seen and entertainment and revels.  
 Much happy time was there passed : there were deeds of  
 love and nobleness, of pleasantry and of prowess. Thus  
 they remained a long time, until it befell that at Sluys  
 was assembled a Spanish fleet, that boasted to cross the sea  
 in defiance of the King, and in spite of him and his array ;  
 upon which the King, by his bravery, assembled his great

Et fist sur la mer une armée,  
Qui moult fut de grant renommée.  
Là estoit luy Prince, son filtz,  
Et maint bon chivaler de pris,  
Tout li counte et tout li baron 490  
Et tout li chivaler de noun.  
Là ot bataille fiere et dure.  
Là lui dona Dieux aventure,  
Car par lui et par sa puissance  
Et par sa très-haute vaillance 495  
Furent toutz mortz et disconfitz  
Les Espaniardes, sachez de fit.  
Et là fut chivaler Johans,  
Son frere, qui moult fut vaillantz,  
Qui de Lancastre fut puis ducz ; 500  
— Moult grantz parfurent ses vertuz.  
Là se proverent vaillantment  
Li noble baron ensement.

---

baronage, and fitted for sea an armament, that was of much renown. There was the Prince, his son, and many knights of fame, all the earls and barons and all the knights of name. Then was there a fierce engagement; but God was with the attempt, for by him and his power and by his all high valour all the Spaniards, know ye surely, were slain or beaten off; and there was John made knight, the Prince's brother, who did valiantly; who afterwards was Duke of Lancaster, and whose virtues were very great. There also acquitted themselves valiantly the noble barons;

Là ot-il mainte nief gaignée,  
Mainte prise et maint percée, 505  
Et là ot maint bon home mort,  
Sicom j'oy en mon recort,  
Et sachez que ceste journée  
Si fut devant Wynchelesee.

*Coment après la bataille sur la mer la roïne d'Engleterre enfaunta un filz qu'avoit à noun Thomas; et après ceo vint le captal de Gascoigne en Engleterre pur avoir le Prince leur chiften en Gascoigne; et sur ceo fut ordeigné par parlement que le Prince s'en passeroit en Gascoigne oue plusours countes et altres seignours.*

A PRÈS ceste noble bataille, 510  
Qui moult fut horrible sanz faille,  
A terre furent retournez.  
Là graunt avoir ont amesnez

---

there were also many ships won, many taken and many broken; there too perished many good men, as I have heard it reported. Know too that this action was fought off Winchelsea.

*How that after this sea fight the Queen of England gave birth to a son, who was called Thomas, and how after that came the Captal of Gascony to England to make the Prince their chief in Gascony, and how that upon this it was ordered by parliament that the Prince should pass over into that country with many earls and other noblemen.*

AFTER this noble battle, which doubtless was most horrible, they had returned home. They had brought

Qu'ils eurent gaignez et conquis,  
Dount chescun de eux fut resjoïs. 515  
Après ce ne demora guere  
Que la roïne d'Engleterre  
Enfanta un filtz de darrein,  
Qu'elle porta, c'est bien certain,  
Et cil filtz ot Thomas à noun. 520  
Grant joie et grant feste fist-hom,  
Grantz justes et feste criée  
Adonques parmy la contrée.  
Et à ce temps vint de Gascoigne  
Le Captal, n'est pas mençoigne,  
Qui moult estoit vaillant et preus, 525  
Moult hardis et moult corageus  
Et moult amez de toute gent.  
Festoiez fut moult noblement.  
Graunt joie fist de sa venue  
Lui Prince, qui se resvertue. 530

---

with them the great property they had gained and conquered, at which each of them rejoiced. Scarcely did there any time elapse, before the Queen of England gave birth to her last child that she bore, as is well known, and this son was named Thomas. Great rejoicings were there then, jousts and festivities proclaimed throughout the whole land. There came at this time from Gascony the Captal, this is no untruth, who was right valiant and preux, of great daring and courage, and much loved of all people. Very nobly was he entertained. The Prince rejoiced much at his



Un jour il dist au roy, son piere,  
Et à la roïgne, sa miere :  
« Sire, fait-il, pur Dieu mercy  
Vous savez bien qu'il est ensy  
Qu'en Gascoigne vous ayment tant 535  
Luy noble chivaler vaillant  
Qu'ils ont graunt payne pur la guerre  
Et pur le vostre honour conquere ;  
Et si n'ount point de chieftayne  
De vostre sang, c'est de certaine. 540  
Et pur ce, si bon le trovez  
En vostre conseil que faissiez  
Envoyer là un de vos filtz,  
Ils en seroient plus hardys. »  
Et chescun dit qu'il disoit voir. 545  
Lors fist lui roy, sachez pur voir,  
Assembler son grant parlement.  
Toutz furent d'accord ensemment

---

coming, and took courage and exerted himself. One day said he to the King, his father, and to the Queen, his mother : « Sire, said he, by God's grace you know well that in Gascony the noble valiant knights love you so much that they take great trouble in your wars, and thereby enhance your honour ; but they have no chieftain of your blood, as you know : wherefore if you like it, and by the aid of your counsel determine to send there one of your sons, they will be the more strong. » And every one said that he spoke for the best. Then the King called, know for truth, a meeting of his great parliament. They were all

Du Prince en Gascoigne envoier,  
Pur ce que tant fut à priser ; 550  
Et ordeignerent là endroit  
Ensi que ovesque lui iroit  
De Warrewyk luy noble counte,  
De quoy hom fesoit grand accounte,  
Et lui counte de Sarsbury, 555  
Qui moult estoit vaillant auxi,  
Cil de Suffolk, qui fut prudhom  
(Ufford ensi estoit son noun),  
Et le bon counte d'Oxford,  
Et le bon counte de Stafford, 560  
Monsieur Bertreme de Burghès,  
Qui moult fut hardi en ses fès,  
Monsieur Johan de Montagu,  
Qui coer avoit fier et agu,  
Et le sire le Despenser ; 565  
Basset, qui moult fut à priser,

---

unanimous to send the Prince into Gascony, because of the high esteem in which he was held ; and they ordered straightway, that there should also go with him the noble Earl of Warwick, whom men highly esteemed, and the Earl of Salisbury, who was also right valiant, the Earl of Suffolk, who was a worthy man (Ufford was his name), also the good Earl of Oxford and the good Earl of Stafford, Sir Bartholomew de Burghersh, who was very doughty in his deeds, Sir John de Montagu, who had a fierce and keen heart, and the Lord le Despenser ; Basset, who was much esteem-

Et si fut le sire de Maunle ;  
Et auxi, ensi qu'il me semble,  
Le sire de Cobham, Renaut,  
Qui eut esté à maint assaut. 570  
Si furent Chaundos et Audlée ;  
Cils deux eurent graunt renomée,  
Et furent ordeignez ou frayne  
Du Prince, sachez de certaine.

*De l'ordinance pur le passage du Prince à Plummuth  
vers Gascoigne, et coment il prist congé du roy, son  
piere, et de la roÿgne, sa miere.*

QUANT la chose fut devisée, 575  
Et tout l'ordinance acomplée,  
A Plummuth fist-homme mander,  
Pur toutes lour niefs assembler,

---

ed, and so was the Lord of Meinel ; and also, as it seems to me, the Lord Raynald of Cobham, who had been in many an assault. There were also Chandos and Audley ; those two had great renown, and were told off to be at the bridle-rein of the Prince, know for certain.

*Of the ordinance at Plymouth for the Prince's passage into  
Gascony, and how he took leave of the King, his father, and  
the Queen, his mother.*

WHEN the matter was determined, and every ordinance complete, at Plymouth they were summoned, all to assemble their ships, men at arms and archers also,

Gentz d'armes et archiers auxi,  
Et lour vitailles sanz nul si. 580  
Moult parfut riches luy arrois.  
Après le terme de deux mois  
Il prist congié du roy, son piere,  
Et de la roygne, sa miere,  
De toutz ses freres et ses soers. 585  
Moult grant dolour font en lour coers  
Quant se vint à son departir ;  
Car là vëissez sanz mentir  
Dame et damoiselle plorer  
Et en complaints dolouser. 590  
L'une pur son amy ploroit,  
L'autre son amy regretoit.

---

and their victuals without any demur. Very rich indeed was the array. After the lapse of two months the Prince took leave of the King, his father, and the Queen, his mother, and all his brothers and sisters. Very great sorrow they had in their hearts when the time of his departure came ; for there might you see indeed wives and damsels in tears, and loud in their complainings ; the one weeping for her lover, the other grieving for her friend.

*Coment le Prince est venuz à Plummuth oue son grant poer, et illoeques ad demoré tanque il fust tut prest pur passer avaunt, et est arrivez à Burdeaux ; et coment les nobles seigniours et barons de Gascoigne luy ont receu oue grant joie et honour ; et coment après ceo le Prince prist les champs oue vj. mille combatauntz, et prist et xeilla par force plusours chastels et villes en Gascoigne.*

— **E**NSI prist le Prince congié,  
 Qui le coer avoit haut et lié ; 595  
 Vers Plummthe prist son chemin.  
 Tant chivacha soir et matyn  
 Qu'en Plummthe fut arrivez ;  
 Et illoeques est tant demorez  
 Que toutz son graunt arrois fut près. 600  
 Et s'avint auxitost après

*How the Prince arrived at Plymouth with his great force, and there tarried until he was ready to pass over ; and how he arrived at Bordeaux, and the noble lords and barons of Gascony received him with great joy and respect ; and how afterwards the Prince took the field with six thousand fighting men, and took and ransacked many castles and towns in Gascony.*

**T**HUS the Prince took leave with a high and glad heart ; he took his way towards Plymouth. He rode night and day until he arrived there, where he remained until all his great armament was ready. And soon afterwards it

Qu'il fist carker toutz ses vessealx,  
Toutz de vitailles et joialx,  
Hauberks, helmes, launces, escutz,  
Arcs, saectes; et encor plus, 605  
Fist toutz ses chivalx eskipper,  
Et assetz tost se mist à mer  
Et tout lui nobles chivaler.  
Là poïst-hom, à voir juger,  
Veoir la flour de chivalerie, 610  
Et très-noble bachelerie,  
Qui furent en grant volonté  
De bien faire et entalenté.  
Lors comencerent à sigler.  
Tant siglerent parmy la mer 615  
Qu'ils arriverent à Burdeaux,  
Dount moult fesoient grantz reveaux  
Lui noble baron du païs.  
Là véissez grantz et petitiz

---

happened that he loaded all his ships with all, victuals and jewels; hauberks, helms, lances, shields, bows, arrows; and still more, he got on board his cavalry, and soon after put to sea with all his noble knights. There might a man, to judge the truth, see the flower of chivalry and a right noble bachelry, all anxious and well able to achieve honorable deeds. Then they began to sail. They navigated so far across the sea that they arrived at Bordeaux, where the noble lords of the country received them with great rejoicings. There might you see the great and small coming straight

Venir vers le Prince tout droit, 620  
— Qui doucement les festoioit.  
Devers lui vint tout entreset  
Lui noble Prince de la Bret,  
Et lui sire de Montferrant,  
Qui ot le coer preu et vaillant, 625  
Mussinden, Roson et Courtoun  
Et de Faussard Amenion,  
Et le grant sire de Pomiers,  
Et meintz des nobles chivalers,  
Et le droit sire de Lesparre. 630  
( Quei vous feroy-je longe barre  
( Pur alongier plus la matiere ?  
Là viendroient, c'est chose clere,  
De Gascoigne tout lui baron ;  
Et le Prince de très-grant noun 635  
Les savoit trop bien conjoïr.  
( Quei vous dirai-je sanz mentir ?

---

to the Prince, who received them with all kindness. There came meanwhile the noble Prince d'Albret, and the Sire de Montferrand, a man of fine and high courage, Mucidan, Rauzan and Courton, and Amenion de Faussard, the great Sire de Pomiers, with many noble knights, and the rightful Sire de Lesparre. Why should I make a long speech to lengthen out my story ? There came there, the matter is clear, all the barons of Gascony ; and the Prince of very high renown knew well how to share their joy. What



A Burdeaux sojourna un poy  
 Tant qu'il ot fait tout son arroy  
 Et bien ses chivalx reposer. 640  
 Bientost après fist apprester  
 Et mist ensemble sur les champs  
 Plus que vj. mille combatantz.  
 Devers Tholouse chivacha.  
 Unques ville n'y demora 645  
 Qu'il ne faisist tout exillier ;  
 Et prist Carkason et Vesier  
 Et Narbone, et tout le païs  
 Fut par luy gastez et malmis,  
 Et plusours villes et chasteaux, 650  
 Dount pas ne firent grantz reveaux  
 En Gascoigne lui enemy.  
 Plus que quatre mois et demy  
 Demora ès champs ceste fois,  
 Adonques il fist moult desrois. 655

---

shall I in truth tell you ? At Bordeaux he sojourned a while, until he had got together all his forces, and given his cavalry rest. Soon afterwards he made ready more than six thousand fighting men. He rode towards Toulouse ; nor did he pass by any town, that he did not entirely ransack ; and took Carcassonne, Beziers and Narbonne, and all the country was overrun and laid waste, as also many towns and castles ; for which in Gascony the enemy had no reason to rejoice. He remained at this time in the field, for more than four months and a half, and there caused great disorder.

*Coment le Prince se retourna vers Burdeaux, et illoques  
demora en grant deduit et grant joie tanque l'ivere  
fut passé, et lors il mist ses gentz par ordinance en  
ses chastels tout entour.*

PUIS devers Burdeaux retourna  
Lui Prince, et là il demora  
Tanque y fut passé tout l'yver.  
Il et si noble chivaler  
- En grant deduit et en grant joie 660  
Estoient là, si Dieux m'avoie.  
( Là fut jolité et noblesce,  
Franchise, bounté et largesce ;  
Et, à ce que j'ay de semblance,  
Il mist ses gentz par ordinance 665  
En ses chastelx trestout entour,  
Là où ils firent lour sejour.

---

*How the Prince returned towards Bordeaux, and there remained  
in relaxation and joy until the winter was passed, and then  
he sent his forces into his strongholds in that part.*

AFTERWARDS the Prince returned, and remained at Bordeaux till the winter was over. He and all his knights in great joy and festivities were there, so God lead me. There was jollity and nobleness, sincerity, bounty and liberality ; and then, as I have heard, he ordered his forces to the different fortresses round about, where they took up their quarters. Warwick was at La Réole, and also,

Warrewik fut à La Réole,  
Et auxi, à courte parole,  
Salsbury fut à Sainte-Foy ; 670  
Et si fut, ensi com je croy,  
Suffolk droit à Saint-Million ;  
A Leybourne et tout environ  
Furent ses hommes herbergiez.  
Quant ensi feurent hostagiez, 675  
Luy bon Chaundos et Audlé,  
Qui moult estoient renommé,  
Ovesque le noble Captal,  
Qui le coer ot preu et loial,  
S'alerent logier sur les champs, 680  
Là où demurerent longtems.  
Maint bele escarmuche firent  
Et mainte fois se combatirent  
Pur conquestre lour logement.  
Dusque à Caours et vers Agent 685

---

to be brief, Salisbury was at Sainte-Foy ; and also, as I believe, Suffolk was at Saint-Emilion ; at Libourne and all around were his men quartered ; as also were lodged the good Chandos and Audley, those men of high renown, with the noble Captal, who had a right loyal heart, and took up their station in the fields. There they sojourned a long time, and often had skirmishes and oftentimes fought, to obtain their position. They undertook an expedition, as far as Cahors and towards Agen, and took Port-Sainte-Marie;

Entreprirent lour chivachie,  
Et pristrent Port-Seinte-Marie,  
Puis s'en retournerent arere  
Tout encontremont la ryvere ;  
S'alerent prendre Pieregos, 690  
Une cité que ot grant los.  
Illoec s'alerent herbergier  
Tut une grant part de l'yver.  
Moult parfut noble le seigniour,  
Car maint assaut et maint estour 695  
Fesoient contre le chastel,  
Car n'avoit que petit prael  
Entre le chastel et la ville.  
Là estoit lui counte de Lylle  
Et lui counte de Pieregos. 700  
( Quei vous diray-je plus des motz ?

---

they then returned back, keeping up the river, and made an attack upon Périgueux, a city of much note. There they were quartered a great part of the winter. Most noble was the lord, for many a sally and many an attack they made against the castle ; for there was only a small meadow between it and the town. There was the Count de Lylle and the Count de Périgord, why should I say more ?

*Coment le Prince reassembla son poair et fist sa chivachie en Seintonge et en altres diverses parties de Gascoigne ; et prist certains fortresses et seigniours devant la bataille de Paitiers, et les novels en vindrent au roy de Fraunce.*

ENSI le Prince sojourna  
En Gascoigne et si demora  
L'espace de viij. mois ou plus.  
Moult parfurent grant ses vertus. 705  
Quant ce vint encontre l'esté,  
Lors ad son poair assemblé ;  
Puis refit une chivachie  
En Seintonge, je vous affie,  
En Pieregos et en Kersin, 710  
Et vint jusques Roumorentyn.  
Là prist-il la tour par assaut,  
Là prist messire Buscikaut

---

*How the Prince reassembled his forces and marched upon Saintonge and other parts of Gascony, and took certain forts and lords before the battle of Poitiers, and how the news had reached the King of France.*

THE Prince then took up his quarters in Gascony, and remained there for the space of eight months or more. Very great were his virtues. When the summer came, he reassembled his forces, and made a march upon Saintonge, Périgord and Quercy, and came, I assure you, as far as Romorantin. There he took the tower by assault, and made prisoner messire Boucicault and the great Lord

Et le grant sire de Craon  
Et des autres moult grant fuyson. 715  
Plus de cc. en y ot pris,  
Toutes gentz d'armes de grant pris,  
Quinze jours devant la bataille  
De Paitiers, sachez tout sanz faille.  
Après chivacha en Berri 720  
Et parmy la Gascoigne auxi  
Et jesques à Tours en Tourayne.  
Adonques, c'est chose certeyne,  
Les noveles au roy Johan  
Vindrent, dont moult fist grant ahan, 725  
Et dist que poy se priseroit  
Si grant vengeance n'en prenoit.

---

of Craon, and very many others; more than two hundred were there taken, all fighting men of great valour, five days before the battle of Poitiers, rest assured I speak truly. Afterwards he rode into Berry, and also through Gascony, as far as Tours in Touraine. Then it is very certain that the news reached King John, who was greatly moved, and said that he should lightly esteem himself, if he took not great vengeance.

*Coment le roy de Fraunce fist assembler sa grant puissance à Chartres encontre le Prince et son poair, et luy Prince ad pris son chemyn vers Paitiers, et coment il prist deux countes, et plusours autres furent pris et mortz*

LORS fist assembler sa puissance  
De tout le royalme de France ;  
N'y demora ne duc ne counte 730  
Ne baron dont hom fesist counte,  
Que tout ne fesoit amasser.  
Ensi com j'ay oï counter,  
Fut fait à Chartres l'assemblée.  
Noble gent avoit amassée ; 735  
Car, ensi que homme count le stille,  
Il en avoit plus de x. mille.  
De Chartres se sont departy,  
Et chivacherent sans nul si

---

*How the King of France assembled his great power at Chartres against the Prince and his forces, and how the Prince had taken his route towards Poitiers, and how he took prisoners two counts, and many others were taken and slain.*

THEN the French King gathered his forces from all the realm of France ; there demurred not duke nor count, nor baron of any note, whom he did not bring together. And so, as I have heard, the gathering was made at Chartres. A noble assemblage was there ; for, according to the numbering, there were more than ten thousand. They departed from Chartres and rode without any hesitation straight



Tout ensi com par devers Tours. 740  
Moult parfut noble lour atours.  
Lui Prince en ot oï noveles,  
Queux lui semblent bones et beles ;  
Devers Paitiers prist son chemin ;  
Moult oue lui menoit grant train, 745  
Car moult eurent fait de damage  
En France par lour grant barnage.  
Et sachez que le samedy  
Le noble counte de Joygny,  
Ovesque le counte d'Auçoire, 750  
Prist le Prince, c'est chose voire ;  
Et combatirent vaillamment  
Les François à lour logement ;  
Mais ils furent toutz mortz ou pris ;  
Ensement le dit lui escriptz : 755  
Dount Englois fesoient grant joye  
Parmy lour host, si Dieux m'avoie.

---

towards Tours. Very noble was their array. The news then reached the Prince, and good tidings did they seem to him ; towards Poitiers he took his way, and a great train with him ; much damage had they done in France by their great valour, and know for truth that on the Saturday the Prince took (prisoner) the noble Count de Joigny with the Count d'Auxerre ; and the French fought valiantly at their camp, but they were all taken or slain ; at which, as the report is, the English host made great rejoicings, so

Et lui roy Johan chivacha  
Tant que le Prince adevantcea,  
Et que l'un host l'autre choisi. 760  
Et, à ce que je entendî,  
L'un devant l'autre se logerent  
Et si très-près se herbergerent  
Qu'ils abuvroient, par seint Piere,  
Lour chivax à une riviere. 765

*Comment le cardinal de Pieregos vint, à briefs mos, oue grant clergie au roy de Fraunce pur faire accord par entre luy et le Prince ; et sur ceo oïe et entendue la volunté et avis du roy de France, s'en chivacha le cardinal devers le Prince pur meisme la cause.*

**M**AIS là endroit vint, à briefs mos,  
Lui cardinal de Pieregos,  
Qui amena ovesque lui  
Maint clerc et maint legat aussi.

---

God lead me. The King John rode until he got before the Prince, and one army distinguished the other. And, as I have heard, the one camped before the other, and pitched their tents so near that, by Saint Peter, they watered their horses at the same river.

*How, in a few words, the Cardinal of Périgord with many of the clergy came to the King of France to make peace between him and the Prince, and when he had heard the wishes of the King of France, the Cardinal rode to the Prince upon the same errand.*

**B**UT there then came, in short, the Cardinal of Périgord, who brought with him many of the clergy and

Dout doucement au roy de France 770  
Ad dit de humble volonté france :  
« Sire, fait-il, pur l'amour Dieu,  
Bone parole tient bon lieu.  
Car il vous plesse à moy lesser  
Que je puisse aler chivacher 775  
Devers le Prince pur parler  
Si hom vous purroit accorder ;  
Car certes ceste grant bataille  
Tant sera horrible, sanz faille,  
Que pité sera et damages 780  
Et orgoilles et grantz outrages  
Que tant beale creature  
Faudra morir de grief mort seure ;  
Et si ne poit hom destourner  
Morir, defaille à l'assembler : 785  
Dout certes countre en faudra  
Cely qui le tort en aura,

---

followers. He spoke pleasantly to the King of France with all humble frankness : « Sire, said he, for the love of God, a good word holds a good place. Then may it please you to suffer me to ride to the Prince to see if it be possible to make peace ; for certes this great battle will doubtless be so horrible, that it will be very pitiful and hurtful, presumptuous and wicked, that so many noble creatures should suffer grievous and certain death ; and if no one can avert death, let him avoid the meeting : then surely against him must be the wrong who

Par devant Dieu au jugement,  
 Si le Escripture ne ment. »  
 Dont respondi luy roy Johans : 790  
 « Cardinal, moult estez sachantz.  
 Bien voillons que vous y alez ;  
 Mais sachez et bien entendez  
 Pais ne ferons en notre vie  
 Si ne reavons en no baillie 795  
 Les chastelx et toute la terre  
 Que puis qu'il vint hors d'Engleterre  
 Nous ad gasté et exillez  
 A malveis droit et à peciez,  
 Et auxi quite la querelle 800  
 Dont la guerre se renouvelle. »  
 — « Sire, ce dist lui cardinaus,  
 Tant ferai que bien serez saus  
 Et à suffit de votre droit. »  
 Lors se parti de là endroit. 805

---

shall have done it, before God at the judgment, if the  
 Scriptures lie not. » Upon which King John answered :  
 « Cardinal, you are very wise. We are willing that you  
 should go ; but know and understand thoroughly that we  
 will come to no terms, if we have not restored to us the  
 castles and all the land, that since his arrival from England  
 he has wasted and ravaged in bad faith and sinfully, and  
 also let him abandon the quarrel for which he has renewed  
 the war. » — « Sire, answered the Cardinal, all shall be  
 done for your safety and to the full of your rights. »  
 Then he straightway took his leave.

*Coment le Cardinal chivacha du roy de Fraunce vers  
l'ost du Prince pur entrainer de l'accord avant-dit.*

VERS l'ost du Prince chivacha;  
Sitost que vers lui arriva,

Moult doucement l'ad salué

Et en plorant par graunt pitié :

« Sire, fait-il, pur Dieu merci, 810

Car prendrez ce jour-de-hui merci

De si mainte noble persone

Que au jour-de-hui, c'est la some,

Purroient ci perdre la vie

En yceste grant estormye. 815

Fetez tant que n'aiez pas tort.

Si hom vous poit mettre d'accort,

Dieux et la Seinte Trinité

Vous en purroit savoir bon gré.

---

*How the Cardinal rode from the King of France to the Prince's  
camp to treat on the above named matter.*

TOWARDS the Prince's army he rode, and as soon as he arrived there, he saluted him kindly, and weeping with great pity, « Sire, said he, for God's mercy, take pity to-day upon so many noble men, that this day, so it is, may lose their lives in this great battle. Believe that you will suffer no wrong. If one might make you agree, God and the Holy Trinity would take it in good part of you.

*Coment le Prince respondi au Cardinal sur le traité  
dudit accord.*

Luy Prince dist à coer entieu : 820  
« Certes, beaux douce piere en Dieu,  
Bien savons que ce que vous dites  
Est voirs : ce sont raisons escriptes ;  
Mais nous volons bien sustenir  
Que notre querel, sanz mentir, 825  
Est juste, vraye et veritable.  
Bien savez que ce n'est pas fable  
Que mon piere, luy roy Edwardz,  
Certes estoit le plus droitz hoirs  
Pur tenir et pur posseder 830  
France, que chescuns doit amer,  
Au temps que fut coronez roys  
Lui roy Phelippes de Valois ;

---

*How the Prince answered the Cardinal upon the subject  
of the said treaty.*

THE Prince answered with all sincerity : « Certainly, good and holy father, we know well what you say is truth, as Scripture reasoning ; but we will uphold stoutly, that our quarrel without doubt is just, true, and veritable. You know well that this is no invention, that my father King Edward was doubtless the most lawful heir to hold and to possess France, that each should love, from the time when Philip of Valois was crowned King ; but never-

Mais nient contrestant pas ne voil  
Que hom die que par mon orgoil 835  
Moerge tant bele juvente ;  
Mais ce n'est mye mon entente  
Qu'onques je face le contraire  
De la paix, s'hom le pooit faire ;  
Ainz en feray tout mon pooir. 840  
Mais sachez que, tout pur le voir,  
Je ne puis pas ceste matiere  
Acomplir sanz le roy, mon pere ;  
Mais respit puis-je bien doner  
De mes hommes et accorder 845  
Pur partraitier plus de la paix.  
S'accorder ne voillent cest faitz,  
Je su ci tut prest pur attendre  
La grace Dieu, au voir entendre ;  
Car notre querelle est si vraye 850  
Que de combatre ne m'esmaye ;

---

theless would I not wish men to say, that through my pride so much good youth was slain ; neither is it my intention ever to act contrary to peace, if one can effect it ; rather will I use my power to do so. Only know, to speak the truth, that I cannot settle this matter without the King, my father ; but I might very well grant a respite to my men, and meet to treat further of peace. If they cannot settle that matter, I am all ready to abide by the will of God, to understand the truth, for our quarrel is so just that I do not fear to



Mais pur destourner le damage  
De la mort et le grant outrage,  
Le ferai à votre plaisir  
Ou gré de mon piere assentir. »

855

*Coment lui Cardinal tout en plorant s'en departi du Prince, et retourna par devers le roy de France, et lui fist relacion de la traitié ; et coment sur ceo le roy de France assigna pur sa part evesques et autres seignieurs pur en traitier et excuser la bataille.*

L ux Cardinal tout en plorant  
Se parti de lui maintenant  
Et chivacha sanz detriance  
Devers le roy Johan de France,  
Et ad counté de son attrait ;  
Et le roy pur alongier le fait  
Et pur la bataille excuser,  
Fist toutz les barons assembler

860

---

fight; but to prevent the loss by death and the great outrage,  
I leave to your pleasure or to the will of my father. »

*How the Cardinal all in tears departed from the Prince and returned towards the French King, and related to him the conditions; and how then the King of France appointed, on his part, bishops and other noblemen to treat and avoid the action.*

T HE Cardinal all in tears now took his departure, and rode without hindrance towards King John of France, and told him of his endeavour; and the King, to gain more time and to avoid the necessity of a battle, called a

Et mettre ensamble de deux partz.  
De parler ne fut pas escars. 865  
Là vint le count de Tankerville,  
Et, ensi come dit le stille,  
Fut luy arcevesque de Sens,  
Cils de Thalarus, qui ot grant sens;  
Chargny, Buscicaut et Clermont, 870  
Toutz ceux illoeques venuz sont.

*Comment autres seignours englois feurent de par le Prince  
ordeigneꝝ pur entraitier oue les François dudit accorde.*

PAR le conseil du roy de France,  
D'autre part par volenté france  
Y fut de Warrewick lui counte ;  
Et, ensi com dit lui acounte, 875  
Lui counte de Suffolk y fu,  
Qui ot le poil gris et kenu.

---

council of all his barons to consider both sides of the question. He was not sparing of speech. There came the Count de Tancarville, and also, as the list tells us, there was the Archbishop of Sens, him of Talaru, a man of great learning ; Chargny, Boucicault, and Clermont, all those were come thither.

*How other English lords were appointed by the Prince to treat  
with the French upon the said truce.*

TO the council of the French King, on the Prince's part, there came willingly the Earl of Warwick ; and also, as the story is, the Earl of Suffolk was there, who had grey

Si fut Bertrem cil de Burghès,  
Qui du Prince fut le plus près ;  
Si furent Audlée et Chaundos, 880  
Qui en ce temps avoient grant los.  
Illoeques firent parlement,  
Et là chescun dist son talent ;  
Mais de lour conseil ne vous say ;  
Mais je say bien tout pur verray 885  
Qu'ils ne pooient estre d'accort,  
Com j'ay oï en mon recort.  
Dont chescun de eux s'en departy.  
Adonc dist Geffroy de Chargny :  
« Seignieur, fait-il, puisqu'ensi est 890  
Que cest traitié plus ne vous plect,  
J'offre que nous nous combatoms  
Cent pur cent, et nous choisiroms  
Chescun par devers son costé.  
Et bien sachez pur verité 895

---

and hoar hair, Bartholomew de Burghersh was one, who was very dear to the Prince ; as were Audeley and Chandos, who at this time acquired great praise. There they made their parliament, and every one spoke his view ; but of their counsel I know not, but this I know for truth that they could not agree together, as I have heard in my record. When each of them departed, then said Geoffroy de Chargny : « Lords, said he, since it is so that this treaty pleases you not, I propose that we have a combat, that each on his side select a hundred men ; and let it be

Lequel cent qui sont disconfit,  
Tut lui autre, sachez de fit,  
De cest champ se departiront  
Et la querelle lesseront.  
Je croy que le meillour sera 900  
Et que Dieux gré nous en saura  
Que la journée se deporté  
Où tant persone seroit morte.

*De la final responce donée à les François par les seigniours englois de la traité, et coment les seigniours du traité, si bien de l'un costé come de l'autre, sount retourné chescun devers son seignieur sanz accorde entre eux fait, et le Cardinal s'en chivacha tout en plorant devers Poitiers.*

**E**T adonques lui respondi  
Lui counte de Warwick ensi : 905  
« Seignieur, fait-il, quei voillez-vous  
Prendre par ce encontre nous ?

---

abided by, that whichever hundred be defeated, their side consider themselves vanquished, and quit the field and thus end the quarrel. I think that so it will be better, and that God will take kindly to us that the days work should so end, than that so many men should fall.

*Of the final answer given to the Frenchmen by the English Lords upon the treaty, and how the Lords appointed to treat on either side returned towards their chief without agreeing, and the Cardinal rode all in tears towards Poitiers.*

**T**HEN answered to him the Earl of Warwick : « Sire, said he, what will you gain by this encounter ? You

Bien savez que vous estes plus  
Des gentz d'armez et fervestuz  
Quatre foitz que nous ne soions, 910  
Et votre terre chivachons.  
Vez-ci la champaigne et la place.  
Chescun qui poet, son meillour face.  
Nule autre part je ne seray,  
Ne autre jeo n'accorderay. 915  
Dieux voille conforter le droit  
Où il semble que meillour soit. »  
Lors se partent sanz plus parler,  
Vers leur host prirent à tourner.  
Chescun disoit en son parti : 920  
« Cil Cardinal nous ad traï. »  
E las ! pur Dieu, mais noun avoit,  
Car tout plorant s'en departoit  
Et chivachoit devers Paitiers.  
Cela lui estoit bien mestiers, 925

---

know well that you have more men at arms and steel clad, by four times than we are, and we are on your territory ; here is the field and the place, let each side do its best. Nowhere else will I be, nor agree to any other conditions. May God defend the right, as it shall seem best to him. » Then they parted without further parley, each returning to his camp ; and on both sides it was said : « This Cardinal has betrayed us. » But alas ! for God it was not so, for he departed all in tears and rode towards Poitiers. This was as he might have expected, for truly there was neither

Car certes il n'avoit bon gré  
N'onques grace de nul costé.  
Lors ont lour bataille ordeignée  
Chescun sanz point de demorée.

*Coment le roy de Fraunce assigna le mareschal de  
Cleremount et plusours autres seigniours, oue iij. mille  
combatauntz, deux mille servauntz et bien deux mille  
arblastiers, pur estre en l'avant-garde de son host.*

P RIMEREMENT le roy de Fraunce 930  
Ad mis sez gents en ordinance  
Et dist : « Beau seigniour, par ma foy,  
Tant me detrirez, ceo croy,  
Que lui Prince m'eschaperá.  
Cil Cardinal bien traý m'a, 935  
Qui ci m'ad fait tant demorer. »  
Donques commence à apeller

---

good will nor any mercy on either side. Then each  
without delay set his army in battle array.

*How the King of France assigned to the Marshal of Clermont  
and many other Lords, the advanced guard of his army, with  
three thousand fighting men, two thousand soldiers and full  
two thousand cross bowmen.*

FIRST the King of France set his men in array, and said :  
« Good lords, by my faith, the thought vexes me  
much that the Prince will escape me, this Cardinal who  
has so stayed our movements has betrayed us. Then began

Le bon mareschaux de Clermont  
Et cely d'Audenham, qui mont  
Fut en toutz temps à priser, 940  
Car en lui ot bon chivaler;  
Que le noble duc d'Ataine,  
Qui moult fut noble chieftaine :  
« Seigniour, ce dist lui riche rois,  
Faites aprester vos arrois, 945  
Car vous serés en l'avant-garde.  
C'est votre droit, si Dieux me garde.  
Ovesque vous aurez sanz doute  
Trois mille hommes de votre route,  
Et si aurez ij. mil servauntz 950  
A glaives et à dartz trenchantz,  
Et bien deux mille arbalastiers,  
Qui vous aideront voluntiers.

---

he to summon the good Marshal of Clermont, and he of Audenham, who was much esteemed at all times, for in him he had a good knight; with the noble Duke of Athens who was a right noble chieftain : « My Lord, said the rich King, make ready your array, for you shall be in the van-guard. This is your right, God preserve me ! Doubtless you shall have with you three thousand men to your company, and also two thousand soldiers, with swords and cutting darts, and full two thousand cross-bowmen who shall lend you willing aid. Take care if you find the



Gardez si vous Englois trovez,  
Ovesque eux vous vous combatez, 955  
Et si n'aiés point de deport  
Que toutz ne les mettez à mort. »

*Coment le roy de Fraunce ordeigna le duc de Normandie,  
son filz, le duc de Burboine, et plusours autres sei-  
gniours, oue quatre mille combatantz, pur estre en  
la seconde bataille de son host.*

LORS appella à ceste fie  
L son filtz le duc de Normandie,  
Et lui ad dit : « Beau filtz, par foy, 960  
Roy de France serés après moy,  
Et pur ce aurez-vous sanz faille  
La votre seconde bataille ;  
Et le noble duc de Burbone  
Aurez à votre compaignone, 965

---

English, that you bring them to action, and show no favour  
but slay them utterly.

*How the King of France appointed the Duke of Normandy, his  
son, the Duke of Bourbon, with many other Lords and four  
thousand fighting men, to be the second division of his army.*

THEN he at this time summoned his son the Duke of  
Normandy, and said to him : « Good son, by my  
faith, you will be King of France after me wherefore doubt-  
less you shall have command of the second division, and the  
noble Duke of Bourbon you shall have as your companion,

Et le seigniour de Saint-Venant,  
Qui ad le coer preu et vaillant.  
Le bon Tristan de Magnelers,  
— Qui moult est noble bachilers,  
Il portera votre baniere, 970  
Qui est de soie riche et chiere.  
N'esparniez jà, pur Jesus-Cris,  
Englois, tout soit grantz ne petitz,  
Que tout à mort ne les mettez ;  
Car je ne voil que si osez 975  
Ils soient jammès pur passer  
Un soul pé par decea la mer  
Pur moy grever ne guerroier,  
Ensy les vorray-je arraiier. »  
Dist lui Dauffyns : « Piere, par foy, 980  
Tant ferons, ensi com je croy,  
Que votre bon gré en aurons. »  
( Adonc banieres et peignons

---

with the Lord of Saint-Venant, who has a preux and a valiant heart. The good Tristan de Magnelais, who is a right noble bachelor, shall carry your banner, of rich and precious silk ; spare not, for Jesus Christ, the English, great or small, but slay them utterly ; for I would wish that they may never dare to cross over the sea a single foot to harass and make war upon me : thus then would I see them disposed of. « Father, answered the Dauphin, by my faith, we will so act, that I think we shall have your approval. » Then might you see banners and pennons

Véissez desploier au vent,  
Où fin or et aseur resplent, 985  
Pourpres et goules et hermynes.  
Trompes, taburs, chors et bussynes,  
Oïsez parmy l'ost bondir.  
Tout faisoit la terre tentir  
La grant bataille du Dauffyn. 990  
Là ot maint bon chivaler fyn ;  
Et ensy, come dist le nombre,  
Quatre mille furent en nombre.  
D'un des costés sa place prist,  
Et moult grant espace comprist. 995  
Ensi ad lui le roy devisée  
Ceste bataille et ordeignée.

---

unfurled to the wind ; bright shining in gold and azure, purple, gules and ermine. Trumpets, tabors, horns and bassoons, might be heard sounded through the host ; the great division of the Dauphin made all the earth ring. There was many a good knight ; and also, they were, it is said, four thousand in number ; which took their post on one side, occupying a great space. And as the King had appointed, so was this division arranged.

*Coment le roy de France ordeigna le riche duc d'Orliens,  
son frere, oue trois mille combatauntz pur amener  
l'arere-garde de son host.*

A DONC appela, ce est chose clere,  
Le riche duc d'Orliens, son frere :  
« Frere, fait-il, si Dieu me garde, 1000  
Vous menrez notre arere-garde  
Oue trois mille combatantz  
De gentz d'armes preus et vaillantz ;  
Et gardés bien, pur Dieu mercy,  
Que n'aiés jà d'Englois mercy, 1005  
Mais les mettez trestoutz à mort :  
Car ils nous ont moult fait de tort  
Et ars et destruit notre terre  
Puis qu'ils partirent d'Engleterre.

---

*How the King of France appointed the rich Duke of Orleans,  
his brother, with three thousand fighting men, to bring up  
the rear guard of his army.*

T HEN, as is well known, he called the rich Duke of Orleans, his brother : « Brother, he said, so God keep me, you shall bring up our rear guard with three thousand fighting men, and men at arms preux and valiant ; and take good care, by God's mercy, that you have no pity on the English, but put them all to the sword ; for much wrong have they done us in burning and wasting our land, since they left England. Mind, if you take

Gardez, si le Prince preignez, 1010  
Que par devers moy l'amenez. »  
— « Sire, ce dist lui riche ducs,  
Volentiers et encore plus. »

*Coment le roy de Fraunce meismes, ovesque trois de ses  
filz et plusours countes et autres seignours au nombre  
de xxiiij. banieres, iiij<sup>e</sup>. chivals armez et iiij<sup>e</sup>. chivalers  
desus, armez, furent en la quart bataille illoeques.*

E<sup>N</sup>SEMENT ad lui noble rois 1015  
Johan ordeigné ses conrois.  
En la quarte bataille fu,  
Moult parfut riche sa vertu ;  
Ovesque lui trois de ses filtz,  
Qui moult furent de très-grant pris.  
Le duc d'Anjou, cil de Barry, 1020  
Estoit auxi ovesque luy ;

---

the Prince, that you bring him before me. » — « Sire, said  
the noble Duke, willingly and much more. »

*How the King of France himself, with three of his sons and  
many counts and other noblemen, to the number of twenty-  
three banners, four hundred armed horses, and four hundred  
armed knights upon them, made the fourth division of the army.*

T<sup>H</sup>US had the noble King John disposed his army. He  
himself of right noble valour was in the fourth division  
with three of his sons, who were of very great courage.  
The Dukes d'Anjou and de Berry were there also with him;

Et si fut Philip ly Hardys,  
Qui moult fu joefnes et petit ,  
Là estoit Jaques de Burbon,  
Lui count d'Eu, qui ot bon noun, 1025  
Et lui counte de Longueville.  
Cils deux si estoient, sanz guille,  
Filtz à monsieur Robert d'Artois ;  
Et si estoit à ceste foitz  
Lui noble counte de Sansoire 1030  
Ovesque lui, ce est chose voire.  
Et estoit le count Daunmartyn.  
Que vous ferroy-je lonje fyn ?  
Tant parfut riche ses arroiz,  
Car banieres eut vint et trois. 1035  
Puis ordeigna à l'autre lez  
Bien cccc. chivalx armez  
Et cccc. chivalers desus  
De trestoutz ses meillours escus.

---

so was Philip the Bold, who was then young and little ; there was Jacques de Bourbon, the Count d'Eu of good name, and the Count de Longueville. These were two, without guile, sons of messire Robert d'Artois ; and there was with him, at this time, the noble Count de Sancerre as is well known, and so was the Count de Dammartin. But why should I make a long story ? so noble was his array, that he had twenty and three banners. Then he drew up on the other side a body of four hundred armed horses, with four hundred knights upon them, all of the noblest

Guychard d'Angle les conduisoit,	1040
Qui noble chivaler estoit,	
Et le bon sieur d'Augebugny,	
Qui ot le coer preu et hardy ;	
Et Eustace de Ribemont,	
En qui le roy se fioit mont.	1045
Et lour pria sanz alentir	
Qu'ils pensassent de bien ferir,	
Et qu'ils ne s'esparnassent mie	
D'avoir la bataille partie,	
Et chescun les sieweroit après,	1050
Qui de bien faire seroit près.	
Et chescun lui ad acordé	
De bien faire sa volenté.	
Là avoit-il tiele noblesse,	
Si Dieux me poet doner leesce,	1055

---

escutcheon. Guichard d'Angle was their leader, a noble knight, and the good Lord d'Aubigny, who had a preux and a valiant heart; with Eustache de Ribemont, on whom the King greatly relied. And he prayed them to be nothing slack in dealing out their blows, and to spare no pains to engage the battle, and each one ready to do well would follow. All then assented to do the King's will. There had he such a noble host, so God give me joy, that it was in truth a great marvel : never had men seen



Que ce fut une grant merveille :  
Onc hom ne vist tiel appareille  
De noblesse ne d'ordinance  
Com furent de la part de France.

*Coment le Prince mist ses gentz en ordinance pur  
combatre, et assigna le counte de Warrewik pur  
l'avant-garde, et le counte de Salesbury pur amener  
l'arere-garde de son host, et comaunda sire Eustace  
d'Abrichecourt et le seigniour de Courton à courir  
pur l'ost françois descouverir; lesquex coururent si  
avant qu'ils furent pris par les François, et les  
François en fesoient grant joie.*

DE l'autre part, n'en doutez mye, 1060  
Fut l'oost des Engloys logie,  
Et ensement en celui jour  
Lui noble Prince de valour

---

such an array of valour, nor such an ordinance as were  
there on the side of France.

*How the Prince disposed his forces for action, and assigned the van-  
guard to the Earl of Warwick, and the rear guard to the Earl  
of Salisbury, and issued orders to Sir Eustace d'Abrichecourt  
and the Lord Courton to sally out and reconnoitre the French  
army, who advanced so far, that they were taken by the  
French, who much rejoiced.*

ON the other side do not doubt, the English army  
was encamped, and also on this day the noble

Mettoit ses gentz en ordonnance ;  
Et volontiers, à ma semblance, 1065  
Vousist la bataille excuser,  
Si le pooit avoïder,  
Mais bien voit que lui covient faire.  
Adonc appela sanz retraire  
De Warrewyk le noble counte, 1070  
Et très-parfitement lui counte :  
« Sire, fait-il, il nous covient  
Combatre; et puisqu'ensi avient,  
Je vous prie en ceste journée  
Aiez l'avant-garde menée. 1075  
Lui noble sire de Pomiers,  
Qui moult est noble chivalers,  
Sera en votre compaignie ;  
Et si aurez, je vous affie,  
Toutz ses freres ovesque luy, 1080  
Qui sont preuz, vaillantz et hardy.

---

Prince of valour drew it up in battle array ; and willingly, as I think, would have been spared the action, could he have avoided it ; but he knew well how to act. Then without reserve he summoned the noble Earl of Warwick, and very clearly told him : « Sir, said he, it behoves us to fight ; and since it is so, I pray you on this day take command of the vanguard. The noble Lord of Pomiers, who is a right noble knight, shall be in your company ; and you shall have, I assure you, all his brothers with him, who are preux, valiant, and hardy. At first you will cross

Primers passerez le passage  
Et garderez le cariage.  
Je chevacheraï après vous  
Ovesque mes chivalers toutz. 1085  
En cas qu'à meschief aviendrez,  
De nous serez reconfortez ;  
Et le count de Salesbury  
Chivachera après auxi,  
Qui menra notre arere-garde ; 1090  
Et sera chescun sur sa garde,  
En cas que ils vous curront sus.  
Que chescun à pé descenduz  
Soit le plus tost que il purra. »  
Et chescun dist qu'il le fera. 1095  
Quei vous auroy-je detriée  
La matiere et plus destourbée ?  
Ensi deviserent la nuyt.  
Là n'avoit pas trop grant deduit,

---

the pass and protect our carriages ; I shall ride after you with all my knights, so that, if you meet with mischance, you may be reinforced by us ; and the Earl of Salisbury shall also ride after me, bringing up our rear guard ; and let each be upon his guard, in case they fall upon us. Each may dismount and engage as quickly as he possibly can. » And each said that he would do so. Why should I confuse, or delay further this matter ? Thus talking they passed the night. There they had not too much comfort, for each lay in

Car chescun y fesoit enbusche. 1100  
Là avoit-il mainte escarmuche ;  
Et quant s'en vint à grant matyn,  
Lui noble Prince oue coer fyn  
En appela à brief mot court  
Daun Eustace d'Abrichecourt 1105  
Oue le seigniour de Courton,  
Qui ot le coer fier com lion,  
Et lour comanda à courir  
Pur l'ost de François descouvrir.  
Et chescun prist à chivachier 1110  
Muntez sor son noble courser ;  
Mais, ensi com dist le romant,  
Cils deux coururent si avant  
Qu'ils furent retenuz et pris :  
Dont fut le Prince moult marris, 1115  
Et François en fesoient grant joie  
Pur lour hoost, si Dieux m'avoie ;

---

ambush, and there was much skirmishing ; and when the morning came, the noble and highly courageous Prince summoned hastily to him Sir Eustace d'Abrichecourt with the Lord Courton, who had a lion's heart ; and commanded them to run and reconnoitre the French army. And each rode off, mounted upon his noble courser ; but, as it is related in the tale, they both advanced so far, that they were taken prisoners, to the great grief of the Prince, and the French host throughout exulted greatly, so God

Et disoient par motz exprès :

« Toutz les autres viendront après. »

*Coment la grant huée est comencée, et lui Prince se deslogea et chivacha, et ne quidoit mye cel jour avoir la bataille. Et les François crioient à leur roy à haute voix que les Anglois fuyoient ; mais noun fut ensi, et le savoient les François bientôt après.*

A DONC comença la huée 1120  
Et moult grant noise s'est levée ;  
Et lui Prince se deslogea,  
A chivacher s'achimina ;  
Car celui jour ne quidoit pas  
Combatre, je ne vous ment pas ; 1125  
Mais il quidoit trestout sans faille  
Toutz jours excuser la bataille.

---

help me, and said, in so many words : « All the others will come after. »

*How the great uproar commenced, and the Prince left his quarters riding, not thinking that on this day the action would take place. And the French cried to their king with a loud voice, that the English fled ; but it was not so, as the French learned soon afterwards.*

THEN commenced the uproar, and a mighty noise was stirred up ; and the Prince left his quarters, and took a ride ; for on this day he did not think to fight, I speak the truth, but thought altogether without fail to be able to avoid the engagement. But on the other side the

Mais de l'autre part les François  
S'escríoient à haute vois  
Au roy que les Englois fuyoient 1130  
Et que par temps les perderoient.  
Lors comencent à chivachier  
Toutz les François sanz atargier.  
Et dist lui mareschaux d'Audenham :  
« Certes poi prise votre aham. 1135  
Tost aurons les Englois perduz,  
Si ne les alons courir sus. »  
Dist lui mareschaux de Clermont :  
« Bieu frere, vous vous hastez mont.  
Ne soiez mie si engrantz, 1140  
Car nous y viendrons bien à temps ;  
Car Englois ne s'enfuyent pas,  
Ainz veignent plus tost que le pas. »  
Dist d'Audenham : « Votre demoere  
Les nous fera perdre en cele hoere. » 1145

---

French cried with a loud voice to the king that the English fled, and, if allowed time, might escape. Then began the French to follow them without delay. The Marshal d'Audenham cried : « Certes I little prize your bustle. We shall soon lose the English, if we do not go and fall upon them. » The Marshal de Clermont answered him : « Fair brother, you make too much haste. Be not so excited, we shall be there in good time ; for the English fly not, rather will they presently be here. » — « Your delay at this moment, said d'Audenham, will make us lose them. » Then

Dout dist Clermont : « Par saint Denys,  
Mareschaux, moult estez hardys. »  
Et puis lui dist par mautalent :  
« Jà n'aurez tant de hardement  
Qu'aujourd'huy puisse faire tant 1150  
Que jà vous soiez si avant  
Que la pointe de votre lance  
Au cul de mon chival avance. »  
Ensi de mautalent espris,  
Ont vers Englois lour chemyn pris. 1155

*Coment la huée et la noise est levée, et les deux hosts  
approcherent, et le counte de Salesbury, qui menoit  
l'arere-garde, assembla tut primerement ; car lui  
mareschaux vindrent sur lui et lui combatoient  
moult fortement.*

A DONC comença la heuée,  
Lui cris et la noise est levée,  
Et les hosts prirent approcher.  
Adonc de traire et de lancer

---

answered Clermont : « By Saint Denis, Marshal, you are too headstrong ; » and then added in ill humour : « But you will never have such hardihood, as to-day to enable you, to be so far in advance, that the point of your lance may reach my horse's croup. » Then with no friendly spirit they took their route towards the foe.

*How the uproar and the noise was raised, and the two armies drew near, and the Earl of Salisbury, who brought up the rear guard, first engaged, for the marshals came upon him and fought him very botly.*

THEN began the uproar, the cry and the noise is raised, and the armies begin to draw near. Then began both



Comencerent d'ambedeux partz ; 1160  
Nul de eux ne se tenoit escars.  
Seiniour, à ce que j'entendi,  
Lui frans counte de Salesbury  
Du Prince avoit l'arere-garde ;  
Mais celui jour, si Dieux me garde, 1165  
Assenbla tout primerement,  
Car plain de ire et de mautalent  
Vindrent sur lui li mareschal,  
Sachez, à pé et à chival,  
Et lui coururent sùs par force. 1170  
Quant lui countes voit ceste force,  
Sa bataille vers eux tourna  
Et à haute vois s'escria :  
« Avant, seigniour, pur Dieu mercy !  
Puis qu'il plect à seint George ensy 1175  
Que nous estoiasmes derere,  
Et nous seirons tout li primere,

---

sides to draw the bow and throw the lance, nor were either sparing in doing so. Sirs, I have understood, the noble Earl of Salisbury commanded the Prince's rear guard ; but on this day, so God save me, he was the first engaged ; for the Marshals, full of anger, came down upon him both with horse and foot, and attacked him violently. When the earl saw this force, he turned his division upon them, and cried with a loud voice : « Advance, Sirs, in God's name ! Since it hath pleased Saint George that we who were the rear, should now be the front, let us take care

Façons tant que honour y aions. »  
Adonc véissez les barons  
De combatre bien esprouver. 1180  
Grantz deduitz fut à regarder  
Cely que rien n'y conteroit ;  
Mais certes grant piece seroit  
Et merveillouse chose et dure.  
Là avoit meinte creature 1185  
Qui celui jour fut mis à fin,  
Là combatoient de coer fin,  
Archiers traoient à la volée  
Plus drut que plume n'est volée,  
Qui furent sur les deux costés 1190  
Par devers les chivalx armés.  
Atant veissez venir poignant  
Un chivaler preu et vaillant  
Qui appelez fut *Guychard d'Angle*.  
Cil ne se boutoit pas en l'angle, 1195

---

to do honourably. » Then might you see the barons acquit themselves well in the combat. Great delight was it to witness, what no words can relate ; but surely it was a great pity, a marvellous thing and a desperate. Many a man was there, who on that day met his death. There they fought right nobly. The archers drew their arrows in volleys thicker than ever feather flew before ; they were on either side (of the road) by the side of the armed horses. Then might you see coming spurring on a preux and valiant knight Guichard d'Angle by name, who did not put

Ains feroit parmy le meslée,  
Sachez, de lance et de espée ;  
Et lui mareschal de Clermont  
Et Eustace de Ribemont  
Et le droit sire d'Aubegny,  
Chescun bien luy fesoit auxi.

1200

*Coment le counte de Salesbury, oue l'arere-garde, desconfist les mareschaux, et trestouz les armés chivalx devant que l'avant-garde pust estre retournée ; et après ceo reassemblerent tout ensemble, et approcherent à la bataille du Daufyn au pas d'une hayetie, et là fust desconfitz le Daufyn oue la bataille de Normandie; et les François s'ensfuyoient, et plusours de eux furent pris et occis, et lors approcha le roy*

---

himself in a corner but struck with lance and sword, know you, amidst the melée. There too was the Marshal de Clermont, and Eustace de Ribemont, and the rightful Sire d'Aubigny, all there acquitted themselves well.

*How the Earl of Salisbury with the rear-guard defeated the Marshals and all the armed horses, before the van-guard had returned ; and afterwards the forces joined together, and approached the division of the Dauphin by the side of a hedge, and there was the Dauphin defeated with the army of Normandy; and the French fled, and many of them were taken and slain ; and how then advanced the French King*

*françois oue sa très-graund puissance devers le honorable Prince et son graund host.*

**M** AIS à quoy faire conteroye  
La matiere et alongeroye ?  
Le roman dist et lui acountes  
Que de Salesbury lui countes 1205  
Entre lui et ses compaignons,  
Qui furent plus fiers que lions,  
Desconfirent les mareschalx  
Et trestouz les armez chivalx  
Devant que poist estre tournée 1210  
L'avant-garde et repassée,  
Car jà fut outre la riviere ;  
Mais au voilloer Dieu et son Piere  
Se reassemblerent tout ensemble  
Et vindrent, ensi qu'il me semble, 1215  
Come gent de noble compaignie  
Tut contremont une montaigne

---

*with his immense power towards the noble Prince and his main body.*

**B**UT why should I relate the matter and lengthen ? The account reports that the Earl of Salisbury by himself and his companions, who were braver than lions, defeated the Marshals with all their armed horses, before the vanguard could repass and return to them, for they were beyond the river ; but by the will of God and his Father, they assembled themselves together and came there, as it seems to me, like a noble host up the side of a hill, until

Tant que ils mirent lour trahin  
A la bataille du Dauffyn,  
Qui fut à pas d'une hayette ; 1220  
Et là de volonté entette  
Si vont ensemble rencontrer  
En fesant d'armes le mestier  
Si très-chivalerousement  
Que, sachez veritablement, 1225  
Grant merveille fut à véir.  
Là gaignerent à l'envair  
Par force le pas de la haye,  
Dount maint François à coer s'esmaye,  
Et comencerent à tourner 1230  
Le dos et à chival mounter.  
Là crioit homme à haute gorge  
En maint lieu : *Guyane ! Saint George !*  
Que voillez-vous que je vous die ?  
La bataille de Normandie 1235

---

they brought their course upon the Dauphin's division, which was by the passage of a hedge ; and there with right good will so rushed to the contest, following up so chivalrously their profession of arms, that, know you truly, it was marvellous to behold. There at the first onset they won by assault the hedge pass, whereat the French were sore dismayed and began to turn their back and mount their horses. There men cried with a loud voice in many places : *Guienne ! Saint George !* What would you that I tell you ? The division of Normandy was that morning defeated, and

Fut desconfit à cel matyn,  
Et s'en departi le Dauffyn.  
Là en éust maint mort et pris,  
Et lui noble Prince de pris  
Se combatoit moult vaillamment, 1240  
Et en reconfortant sa gent  
Disoit : « Seigniour, pur Dieu mercy  
Pensez du ferir ; vetz-me-cy. »  
Donc approcha le roy de France,  
Qui amenoit sa graund puissance ; 1245  
Car vers lui se voilloit retraire  
Cils qui vouloir out de bien faire.

*Coment le Prince voet venir le roy de Fraunce oue son  
très-grant poer, et plusours Englois furent departiz  
du Prince pur chacier les François à lour fuitiez  
pur ceo qu'ils quidoient ce temps qu'ils eussent tut*

---

the Dauphin left (the field). On that field were many slain and taken, and the noble and high Prince fought most valiantly, and in encouraging his men said : « Sirs, for God's mercy think of striking ; here I am. » Then drew near the French King, who brought up his great forces, for he wished to rally around himself those who were minded to do well.

*How the Prince saw the King of France come with his great force, and how many English had left the Prince to follow the French in their flight, because they thought then that all*

*fait ; et lui Prince fist ses prieres à Dieu tout-puissant, et dist : « Avant, baniere ! » Et après ceo comença la mellée, dount Audelée fut ly primer à l'assemblée ; et adonc combatoient très-fortement les seigniours englois et les nobles barons de Gascoigne encontre les François ; et le Prince en avoit, par la grace de Dieu, la victoire et le roy françois et Philippes, son fiz, oue plusours autres countes et altres seigniours de Fraunce, furent pris par les Englois ; et le duc de Burboine et plusours altres seigniours et chivalers et esquiers de Fraunce, à le noumbre de trois mille, furent mortz à cele graunt bataille.*

QUANT lui Prince le vist venir,  
Un poi se prist à esbahir  
Et regarda environ lui,  
Et vist que plusours sont party,

1250

---

*was over ; and the Prince made his prayers to God Almighty and said : « Advance, banners ! » And after that began the action, at which Audley was the first to engage ; and how then there fought stoutly the English lords and the noble barons of Gascony against the French ; and how the Prince, by the grace of God, obtained the victory and the King of France and Philip, his son, with many other counts and noblemen of France, were taken by the English ; and how the Duke of Bourbon and many other lords and knights and esquires of France, to the number of three thousand, fell at this great battle.*

WHEN the Prince saw the French approach, he was a little astonished, and looking about him, saw



Qui furent alez purchasier ;  
Car bien quidoient, à voir jugier,  
Que ce temps éussent tout fait ;  
Mais ore lour accreut le fait : 1255  
Car le roy françois s'en venoit,  
Qui si grant poair amenoit  
Que merveilles fut à veer.  
Quant luy Prince vist ce pur voir,  
Encontre le cel regarda, 1260  
A Jhesus-Crist mercy cria  
Et dist ensi : « Piere puissantz,  
Ensi come je sui croyantz  
Que vous estes roi sur toutz roys  
Et que pur nous toutz en la croys 1265  
Vousistes la mort endurer  
Pur nous hors d'enfer rechatier ;  
Piere, qu'ies vrai dieu et vrai homme,  
Voillez par votre saintism nomme

---

that many had left him, who had gone off in pursuit ; for they thought, with good reason, that then all was over ; but now fresh work was at hand : for the French King came on bringing with him all his force, which was marvellous to see. When the Prince saw it, in truth, he looked towards heaven, and to Jesus Christ cried for mercy, and said also : « Father Almighty, as I have ever believed that you are King over all kings, and that for us upon the cross you were content to suffer death, to save us from the pains of hell ; Father, who art very God and very man, be pleased

Moi et ma gent garder de mal, 1270

Ensi, vrai Dieux celestial,

Que vous savez que j'ai bon droit. »

Adonc le Prince en là endroit,

Quant il avoit fait sa priere,

A dit : « Avant, avant baniere ! 1275

Chescun pense de son honour. »

Deux chivalers plains de valour

La tenoient de deux costés ;

Moult estoient plains de bontés :

Ceo fut Chaundos et Audlée. 1280

Adonc comença la mellée,

Et Audlée moult doucement

Pria au Prince humblement :

« Sire, fait-il, jà ay voé

A Dieu, et promis et juré, 1285

---

for thy holy name, me and my people to guard from ill ; even as, O true heavenly Father, you know that I have a good cause. » Then the Prince straightway, when he had made his prayer, cried : « Advance, advance, banners ! Let each look to his honour. » Two knights full of valour were on each side of him, right full of goodness were they ; they were Chandos and Audley. Then began the melée, and Audley very gently and humbly prayed the Prince : « Sire, said he, I have vowed, promised and sworn to God, that where I shall see in great force

Là où je veray en puissance  
La baniere du roy de France,  
Que je assembleray le primer,  
Si que pur Dieu vous voil prier  
Que congié me voillez doner ; 1290  
Car il est bien temps d'assembler. »  
Adoncques dist lui Prince : « Voir,  
James, faites votre vouloir. »  
Adonc James se departi  
Du Prince, que pluis n'attendi. 1295  
Par devant les autres s'avance  
Pluis que de longur d'une lance,  
Et si fiert sur les enemys  
Comme hom corageus et hardys.  
Mais gaires ne poet endurer 1300  
Qu'à terre lui covient verser.  
Là véissez à l'encontrer  
Ces grosses launces abaisser

---

the banner of the French King, that I will be the first to engage ; so that I would beseech you to give me leave, for it is now time for action. » Then replied the Prince : « Truly, James, have your will. » Upon which James departed from the Prince without farther delay. He went on in advance of the rest of his men more than a lance's length, and so fell upon the enemy like a bold and courageous man. But scarcely could he endure, for to the ground he was overthrown. There might be seen at the encounter the stout lances lowered and thrust on

( Et bouter de chescune part.  
Chescun en prenoit bien sa part. 1305  
Là véissez ferir Chaundos,  
Qui ce jour y acquist grant los,  
Warrewik et le Despenser,  
Montagu qui fut à priser,  
Cils de Mawne et cils de Basset, 1310  
Qui bien combatoient souvent,  
Et monsieur Raoul de Cobehem,  
Qui François causa grant ahen ;  
Le bon Bartrem de Burgheès,  
Qui moult fut hardi en ses fès. 1315  
D'autre part combatoient fort  
Salesbury et Oxenfort,  
Et auxi, ce n'est pas mençoigne,  
Lui noble barons de Gascoigne :  
Le Captal et cils de Pomiers, 1320  
Qui moult fut vaillantz et entiers,

---

either side. Each wanted well to take his part. There might you see Chandos fight, who this day gained great praise, Warwick and le Despenser, Montagu, who was to be praised, the Lords of Mohun and of Basset, who fought well and constantly ; and Sir Ralph de Cobham, who did the French great harm ; the good Bartholomew de Burghersh, a knight of doughty deeds. On the other wing both Salisbury and Oxford fought valiantly, and also, it is not a lie, the noble barons of Gascony : the Captal, with him of Pomiers, who was very valiant and upright; d'Albret,

Labret, Lesparre et Lagoulam,  
Fossard et Couchon et Rosain,  
Mussiden et cils de Caupayne,  
Montferantz, qui sur toutz se payne 1325  
Atout son poair de bien faire.

— Ces bachilers de noble affaire  
Véissez là ferir à tas  
Et doner si grantz hatiplas  
Que ce fut une grant merveille. 1330  
Là avoit moult grande bataille,  
Là véissez maint homme mort.

Longuement dura cest effort  
Tant qu'il n'i avoit si hardy  
Qu'il n'eüst le coer esbaly ; 1335  
Mais lui Prince à haute vois  
S'est escriez par mainte fois :  
« Avant, seigniour, fait-il, pur Dieu !  
Gaignons ceste place et cest lieu,

---

Lesparre and Langoiran, Fossard and Couchon and Rauzan ;  
Mucidan and him of Caupene ; Montferrant, who above all  
strove with all his might to acquit himself well. These  
bachelers of noble lineage might you see there striking  
right and left, and giving such great blows that it was  
marvellous to see. This indeed was a great battle, and  
there died many a man. Long did that struggle last, so that  
there was none so hardy whose heart was not dismayed ;  
but the Prince with a loud voice many a time cried out :  
« Sirs, said he, advance for God's sake, let us win this

S'avons counte de notre honour. » 1340  
Tant fist le Prince de valour,  
Qui tant avoit sens et memoire,  
Que vers lui tourna la victoire  
Et que ses enemis fuyrent,  
Et plusours qui s'en departirent : 1345  
Dont luy roy Johan s'escrivoit,  
Qui vaillamment se combattoit,  
Oue lui maint bon chivaler,  
Qui bien lui quidoient aider.  
Mais la force poi lui vailli ; 1350  
Car le Prince tant l'assailli  
Que illoeques fut à force pris,  
Oue Phelippe auxi, son fitz,  
Et monsieur Jakes de Burbon  
Et des autres moult graunt fuyson : 1355  
Lui counte d'Eu et cil d'Artois  
Charles, qui moult estoit curtois ;

---

field, if we regard our honour. » And so wrought the Prince of valour, who had such good sense and memory, that victory turned towards him, and his enemies fled away ; many were they who left the field, at which King John who stoutly fought with many good knights around him, who nobly thought to assist him cried aloud ; but his force availed him little, for the Prince so hotly attacked him, that he was there taken prisoner, with Philip also, his son, and messire Jacques de Bourbon, and a great many others ; the Count d'Eu, and him of Artois, Charles, who

Et le bon counte Daünmartyn,  
Qui ot le coer loial et fin,  
Et le bon counte de Jogny, 1360  
Celui de Tankarville auxi,  
Et le counte de Salesburce,  
Qui pas derere ne se 'mucè,  
Et le bon counte de Sansoire,  
Ventadour, ce fut chose voire, 1365  
Toutz ceux furent pris en cel jour  
Et maint haut baneret de honour  
Dout je ne puis les nouns nomer.  
Mais à ceo que j'oy conter,  
Bien en y eut sessante pris, 1370  
Countes et baneretz hardis,  
Et des autres pluis de trois mille  
Dout je ne say dire le stille,  
Et, à ce que je entendy,  
Morurent là, je vous affy : 1375

---

was right courteous, with the good Count de Dammartin, who had a loyal and fine heart ; the good Count de Joigny, with him of Tancarville, and the Earl of Saltsburg who did not hide himself behind, and the good Count of Sancerre, Ventadour, all of whom it is clear were this day taken prisoners, with many a high banerèt of honour, whose names I cannot tell. But, as far as I have heard tell, there were over sixty taken, counts and brave banerets, and of others more than three thousand of whom I know not the list : and besides, as I understand, there died on that



De Burbon li noble ducs,  
Cils d'Atainnes, qui ot vertus,  
Et le mareschal de Clermont,  
Matas, Landas et Ribemont,  
Oue monsieur Renaud de Pontz, 1380  
Et des autres de quoy les nouns  
Je ne vous voil mye nomer ;  
Mais à ce que j'oÿ conter  
Et à ce que j'oÿ retraire  
Et la matiere sanz retraire, 1385  
Bien en y eut iij. mille mortz :  
Dieux ait les almes ! car les corps  
Furent demorez sur les champs.  
Là veoit hom Englois joyantz,  
Et crioient à haute gorge 1390  
En maint lieu : *Guyane ! Saint George !*  
Là véissez François espars  
A gaignage de toutes parts,

---

day, I assure you, the noble Duke de Bourbon, the virtuous Duke of Athens, and the Marshal of Clermont, Matas, Landas and Ribemont, with messire Renard de Pons, and others whose names I will not record ; but as I have heard it said, and from all I can learn without going further into the matter, there fell more than three thousand men : God have mercy on their souls ! for their bodies lay upon the field. There might be seen the English rejoicing and shouting with a loud voice in many places : *Guienne ! Saint George !* There might be seen the French scattered over the field

Véissez courir maint archier,  
Maint chivaler, maint esquier, 1395  
De toutes parts prisoners prendre.  
Ensi furent, à voir entendre,  
François celi jour pris et mort,  
Sicom j'oÿ en mon recort.

*Des mois et jour quant ceste graunt bataille fut faite.*

**S**EIGNOUR, cel temps que je vous dy 1400  
Ce fut après que Dieux nasquy  
Mille ans trois centz cinquante et sis,  
Et auxi, solonc mon avys,  
Dis et noef jours droit en Septembre,  
Le mois qui est devant Octobre, 1405  
Avint ceste grande bataille,  
Qui moult fut horrible sanz faille.  
Pardonez si j'ay dit briefment,  
Car jeo l'ay passé legierment.

---

in all directions; and many archers, knights and esquires, on all sides running taking prisoners. Thus on this day were the French made prisoners and slain, as I have heard recorded.

*Of the month and day on which this great battle was fought.*

**S**IRS, the time I speak of was, from the birth of Christ, one thousand three hundred and fifty six years; and, as I am advised, the nineteenth day of September, the month preceeding October, on which was fought this great battle, that was doubtless right terrible. Pardon me if I have told it briefly, for I have passed it over lightly.

*Coment le roy Johan de Fraunce fut amenez devant le Prince, et le Prince lui fist aider et desarmer ; et doucement parloient ensemble, et se logerent cel nuit sur le zabulon entre les mortz, et lendemain au matin le Prince se deslogea et s'achimina vers Burdeaux et toute la clergie de Burdeaux vindrent à procession vers eux ; et demorerent à Burdeaux en très-grant joie tant que l'yver fut passé ; et adoncques le Prince envoya au roy, son piere, et à la roïgne, sa miere, les novels de son fait et pur avoir vesseaux pur amener le roy Johan en Engleterre.*

✓ ✓

MAYS pur ceo que je voil retraire  
De ce Prince de noble affaire,  
Qui moult fut vaillantz et hardis,  
Preud'homme et en faitz et en ditz,

---

1410

*How King John of France was brought before the Prince, and the Prince helped him in taking off his armour ; and they talked kindly together, and lodged there that night upon the plain amongst the dead ; and how the next morning the Prince removed and marched towards Bordeaux, and all the clergy of Bordeaux came in procession to meet them ; and how they remained at Bordeaux with much joy until the winter was passed ; and then the Prince sent to the King, his father, and the Queen, his mother, news of his doings, and (asked) for ships to convey King John to England.*

BUT that I may renew my account of this Prince of noble deed, a Prince so valiant and hardy, good and wise both in deed and word. Then was there brought

Là fut devant luy amenez  
Lui roy Johan, c'est veritez. 1415  
Lui Prince moult le festoia,  
Qui Dampne-Dieu en gracia ;  
Et pur le roy plus honorer  
Lui voet aider à desarmer ;  
Mais luy roy Johan lui ad dit : 1420  
« Beaux dous cosyns, pur Dieu mercit  
Laissez : il n'appartient à moy ;  
Car par la foy que jeo vous doi,  
Plus avez ce jour de huy honour  
Qu'onques n'eüst prince à un jour. » 1425  
Dont dist li Prince : « Sire doulz,  
Dieux l'ad fait, et non mye nous :  
Si l'en devons remercier,  
Et de bon coer vers lui prier  
Qu'il nous voille ottroier sa gloire 1430  
Et pardonner ceste victoire. »

---

before him King John, as is well known, and the Prince entertained him well, and gave thanks to God ; and to do the King more honour, wished to aid in pulling off his armour ; but King John said to him : « Good kind cousin, for God's sake, desist, for I have no claim to this ; for, by the faith I owe you, you have to-day gained more honour, than ever Prince had in one day. » To which the Prince replied : « Kind Sire, it is the work of God, and not mine : so ought we to thank him, and to pray with all our heart, that he will give us his grace, and pardon this victory. »

Ensi ambedeux devoient,  
Doucement ensemble parloient.  
Englois fesoient grant deduit.  
Lui Prince logea celle nuit 1435  
Entre les mortz, sur le zablon,  
Dedeinz un petit pavillon,  
Et ses hommes tut entour luy.  
Icele noit moult poy dormy,  
Le matinet se deslogea, 1440  
Devers Burdeaux s'achimina,  
Si enmenoit lour prisoner  
Et tout lui noble chivaler.  
Tant ont chivaché et esré  
Que à Burdeaux sont arrivé. 1445  
Noblement furent festoiez  
De tout le poeple et bienveignez.  
As crois et as processions  
Et en chantant les orisons

---

Thus on both sides they talked and spoke kindly together. The English then made great rejoicings, and the Prince lodged this night amongst the dead, upon the plain under a small tent, and his men all around him. On this night he slept right little, in the morning he removed, and took the way towards Bordeaux; and so took with them their prisoners and all the noble knights. So fast did they ride and travel, that they arrived at Bordeaux. They were nobly received and welcomed by all the people. With crosses and processions and chanting of orisons, there came to meet

Vindrent tout en l'encontre d'eaux 1450  
Tout li college de Burdeaux,  
Et les dames et les pucelles,  
Vieilles et joeines et ancelles.  
A Burdeaux fist hom tiele joie,  
Si luy vray Dieux mon coer esjoye, 1455  
Que merveille fut à veoir.  
Là demora, sachez pur voir,  
Lui Prince passé tout l'iver.  
Puis envoia son messagier  
Devers le noble roy, son pere, 1460  
Et à la royne, sa miere,  
Et les nouvelles de son fait  
Tout ensi que Dieux li ot fait ;  
Et manda que hom li tramessist,  
Vessealx dont amener poïst 1465  
Le roy de France en Engleterre  
Pur fair plus de honour à la terre.

---

them all the college of Bordeaux, with dames and damsels old and young with servant maids. Such rejoicings were there at Bordeaux, so may God gladden my heart, that it was marvellous to behold. There the Prince, know you for truth, took up his quarters and remained all the winter. Then he sent his messenger to the noble King, his father, and the Queen, his mother, with tidings of his deeds, all that God had done for him ; and asked that vessels should be sent him, to convey the King of France to England, to increase the honour of his country.

*Coment le roy d'Engleterre et la roÿgne firent grant joie des novels queux le noble Prince lour avoit maundé, et en loerent Dieu ; et maunderent vesseaux à Burdeaux, et le Prince amena le roy Johan et les autres prisoners en Engleterre, et en maunda novels au roy, son piere, lequel lui vint à l'encontre et les convoia jésques à Loundres ; et là firent très-grantz festes, reveaux et grantz justes, et demenerent grantz dedutz et grant joie par l'espace de quatre ans et plus.*

QUANT le roy la nouvelle oÿ,  
Moult grandement s'en esjoÿ,

Loant Dieu en joinant ses mains,

1470

Disant : « Beau Piere souverayns,

De toutz ces biens soiez loez. »

Et la france roïne assetz

---

*How the King of England and the Queen greatly rejoiced at the news which the noble Prince had sent, and praised God, and sent ships to Bordeaux; and the Prince brought King John and the other prisoners to England, and sent news to the King, his father, who came to meet him and conduct them to London, and there made very great festivities, revels and great tournaments ; and how great rejoicings continued for the space of four years and more.*

WHEN the King heard the news, he was very much delighted, praising God, joining his hands and saying : « Merciful sovereign Father, be thou praised for all thy benefits. » And the noble Queen also praised God



Looit Dieu et la Vierge pure,  
Qui luy avoit cele porture 1475  
Envoié come de son filtz,  
Lui Prince, qui tant fut hardiz.  
Le message tost delivrerent,  
Vessealx et barges lui manderent,  
Tant que ce fut un grant acounte. 1480  
Que vous alongeroit l'acounte ?  
A Burdeaux vindrent li vessel,  
Dount lui Prince fist grant revel.  
Gaires ne volt plus demorer,  
Tout son arroy ad fait trusser. 1485  
En mer entrerent li baron  
Et tout li chivaler de noun ;  
Le roy et toutz les prisoners,  
De ceaux dont il lour fut mestiers,  
Firent eins les vessealx entrer. 1490  
Tant siglerent, à voir counter,

---

and the pure Virgin, who had sent her this blessing, namely the Prince, her son, who was so hardy. The message soon they delivered and sent him ships and barges ; so that it would be a long story. Why would I lengthen the account ? At Bordeaux the ships arrived, whereat the Prince made great rejoicing. Scarcely would he longer delay, he caused to load all his array. The barons and all the knights of name, the King and all the prisoners, whom they wanted, they caused to enter into the ships. They sailed so prosperously, to tell the truth, that they

Qu'ils sont venuz en Engleterre ;  
Et sitost qu'ils ont pris la terre,  
Au roy manderent les nouvelles,  
Queux li furent bones et beles ; 1495  
A l'encontre lui fist mander  
Toutz ses barons pur honorer.  
Lui-mêmes son corps y vint,  
Que lui countes pluis que vint.  
Jesques à Loundres convoierent 1500  
Lui Prince, que li festoierent.  
Là furent-ils bien festoiez  
Des dames, et si bienveignez  
Qu'onques ne fut fait tiele joie,  
Si lui vray Dieu mon coer esjoye, 1505  
Come elle fut fait à ce temps.  
Là fut lui noble roy puissants  
Et la roïne, sa muliere,  
Et sa miere, qu'il ot moult chiere ;

---

arrived safely in England ; and so soon as they had landed, they sent to the King the news, that were good and fair to him. He ordered all his barons to meet him, as a mark of honour. He came in his own person, and with him more than twenty earls ; they escorted the Prince, whom they greeted, to London. There were they well entertained by the ladies and so welcomed, that never, so the true God glad my heart, was there such rejoicing shown, as was made at this time. There was the noble powerful King, with the Queen, his wife, and his mother, whom he held right dear;

Mainte dame et mainte damsele, 1510  
Très-amoureuse, frike et bele,  
Dancer et chasier et voler,  
Faire grantz festes et juster,  
Faisoient eu regne d'Artus  
L'espace de quatre ans ou plus. 1515

*Coment le roy d'Engleterre refist un voiage en Fraunce  
ovesque son baronage et lui noble Prince et ducs  
Henry et des autres plus de dis mille, et chivacha  
parmy Artoys et plusours pays de Fraunce jesques  
devant Parys ; et là furent logés sur les champs,  
mais ne combatoient mye, ainz tournerent leur  
chivachie par devant Chartres, où la pays fut  
accordée et puis jurée, et le roy Johan de Fraunce fut  
delivré, et tout Guiane par celle pais fut surrendue et*

---

they caused many a dame and damsel, very lovely, frisky and fair, to dance and hunt and hawk, and make great festivities and jousts, as in the reign of Arthur for the space of four years or more.

*How the King of England made another expedition into France, with his barons and the noble Prince and Duke Henry and more than ten thousand others, and rode through Artois and many provinces of France as far as Paris ; and there were encamped in the fields, but came to no engagement ; then they changed their route for Chartres, where peace was agreed and sworn to. And how King John was set at liberty, and all Guienne by this peace was surrendered to the hands of the*



*livrée ès mains du roy d'Engleterre et du Prince,  
son filz.*

Puis refist lui roys un voiage  
En France ovesque son barnage,  
Et li noble Prince autresi,  
Et de Lancastre ducs Henri,  
Et des autres plus de x. mille 1520  
Dont je ne voil dire le stille ;  
Car c'est droit que je me delivre ;  
Mais, ensi come dit le livre,  
Il chivacha parmy Artois  
Et Pikardie et Vermendois, 1525  
Et Champagne, Burgoine et Brie,  
Parmy Bayon, je vous affie,  
Et vint jesques devant Parys.  
Là fut le noble roy de pris

---

*King of England and the Prince, his son.*

THEN the King, with his nobles, made again an expedition into France, with the noble Prince, his son, and Henry, Duke of Lancaster, and more than ten thousand others, whose names I will not record, as it behoves me to proceed ; but, as the report says, he rode through Artois, Picardy and Vermandois, Champagne, Burgundy and Brie, through Boulogne, I assure you, till he came as far as before Paris. There was the noble King of worth with the

Et lui noble Prince vaillantz.	1530
Là furent logez sur les champs,	
Et embataillez pur combatre,	
De cela ne poet hom debatre ;	
Mais ils ne combatirent mye.	
Puis tournerent lour chivachie	1535
Devant Chartres. Là accordée	
Fut la paix que puis fut jurée ;	
Et là fut en cette paix faire	
Li Prince de très-noble affaire,	
Car par li et par son enhort	1540
Furent les nobles roys d'accord,	
Et fut delivrés de prison	
Luy roy Johan, qui ot grant noun ;	
Et là fut par la paix baillie	
Toute Guyane en la baillie	1545
Du noble [roy] et de son filtz,	
Li Prince, qui tant fut hardiz.	

---

valiant Prince. There were they encamped on the fields, and drawn up in battle array, this can no man gainsay ; but no engagement took place. Then they altered their line of march before Chartres. There was agreed to a peace, which was then sworn to, and in concluding this peace the noble Prince had much to do, for through him and his persuasion, were the noble Kings agreed ; and King John of great renown was set free from prison. And by that peace all Guienne was delivered to the power of the noble [King] and his son, a prince of so hardy courage.

Et celle paix que je vous di  
Ce fut en l'an que Dieux nasqui,  
Mil trois centz ovesque sessante,  
Au temps que le russinol chante,  
Oep jours en joli mois de may,  
Que oiseux ne sont pas en esmay.

1550

*Coment le roy d'Engleterre et le Prince, oue leur poer,  
s'en retournerent en Engleterre ; et après furent les  
deux roys ensemble à Caleis, et ly Prince et touz les  
barons et chivalers de noun si bien de l'un roialme  
com del altre, et là jurerent la paix d'ambedeux  
parties saunz jammès renoveler la guerre ; et après  
ce chescun s'en retourna hastivement à souu pays.*

**E**<sup>N</sup> Engleterre s'en tournerent  
Et leur grant arroy amenerent.

1555

And this peace, of which I tell you, was concluded in the year from Christ's birth, one thousand three hundred and sixty, at the time when the nightingale sings, on the eighth of the merry month of May, when the birds are no longer in dismay.

*How the King of England and the Prince, with their forces, returned to England ; and afterwards both Kings met at Calais, and the Prince and all his barons and knights of name, as well of the one kingdom as the other, swore there on both sides to observe the peace and not renew the war ; and how afterwards each returned quickly to his own country.*

**T**o England they then returned, and brought with them their great array. Right nobly and right well did

Moult noble feste lour fist-hom,  
Et moult bien les festoia hom.  
Après le jour de la Toussains,  
Droit en ce temps, je suis certains,  
Furent toutz les deux roys ensemble 1560  
A Caleis, ensi qu'il me semble,  
Lui Prince oue toutz li baron  
Et toutz li chivaler de noun,  
De tout le roialme d'Engleterre  
Et auxi bien, à voir retrere, 1565  
De tout le roialme de France.  
Là furent de volenté france.  
Là jura chescun sur le livre  
Et auxi bien tout à delivre  
Sur le saint digne sacrement 1570  
Que la paix tout principalement  
Tiendroient sanz jamès fauxcer  
Et sanz guerre renoveler.

---

their countrymen entertain them. After the day of All Saints just at this time, I know well, both Kings met together at Calais, as it seems to me, the Prince with all the barons and all the knights of name, of all the realm of England, and so also, to relate the truth, of all the realm of France. There were they with good will. There each swore upon the book, and also without reserve upon the holy worthy sacrament, that he would keep faithfully all the terms agreed on, without ever playing false and renewing the



Ensi d'accord furent tout doy  
Par paix faisant lui noble roy. 1575  
Le roy de Fraunce s'en reala,  
Qui pluis gaires ne demora;  
Et li roy vint en Engleterre,  
Et lui Prince de noble affere;  
A graunt joie s'en retournerent 1580  
Et les hostages enmenerent.  
Quei vous ferroy-je un long acounte  
De ce dont hom doit faire counte ?

*Coment le noble Prince se maria à une dame de grant pris. Après ce s'en ala ladite dame ovesque luy en Gascoigne, et là prist possessioun de la terre et du païs, et illoques regna par vij. ans, et tenoit moult grand et beal hostel, et fist grauntz justes et*

---

war. Thus were both the noble Kings agreed in concluding peace. Then the King of France with scarce any delay returned home; and the noble King came into England with the Prince of noble deportment ; with great joy they came back and brought their hostages with them. Why should I make a long story of what all men ought to know ?

*How the noble Prince married a lady of great worth. Afterwards he went with her into Gascony, and took possession of all the country ; and there reigned seven years, shewing very great and courteous hospitality, and made great jousts and revels,*

*reveaux, et là avoit deux filz; et touz les barouns  
et seignours de Gascoigne à lui venoient, et lui  
fesoient hommage, et de bon coer l'amoient.*

A PRÈS gaires ne demora,  
Luy frans Prince se maria, 1585  
A une dame de grant pris  
Qui de s'amour l'avoit espris,  
Que bele fut, plesante et sage.  
Et après celui mariage  
Ne volt gaires plus atargier, 1590  
Ains s'en ala sanz detrier  
En Gascoigne encontre saison  
Pur prendre la possession  
De sa terre et de son païs.  
Li Prince, qui tant fut gentils, 1595  
Sa mulier ovesque li mena,  
Pur ce que durement l'ama.

---

*and there he had two sons; and all the barons and nobles of  
Gascony came to him and did homage, and loved him heartily.*

ALMOST immediately afterwards, the noble Prince married a lady of great worth, who had won his affection, and was lovely, agreeable and wise. And after this marriage he would no longer tarry, but without any delay went into Gascony, in the wrong season, to take possession of his territory and his country. The Prince, who was so gentle, took with him his wife, because he dearly

De sa mullier ot deux enfans;  
 En Gascoigne regna vij. ans  
 En joye, en pais et en solas. 1600  
 Ore ne vous mentiray pas,  
 Quar tout li Prince et lui baron  
 De tout le pays environ  
 Vindrent à lui pur faire hommage.  
 A bon seigneur loyal et sage 1605  
 Le tenoient communalment;  
 Et j'ose dire proprement  
 Que puis le temps que Dieux fut nez  
 Ne fut tenuz si beaux hostez  
 Come il fist, ne plus honorable, 1610  
 Car toutz jours avoit à sa table  
 Plus de iiij.xx. chivaliers  
 Et bien quatre tantz esquiers.  
 Là fesoient justes et reveaux  
 En Anguileme et à Burdeaux. 1615

---

loved her. He had by his wife two children ; in Gascony he reigned seven years in joy, peace and quietness. Now I will tell you no untruth ; for all the lords and barons of all the neighbouring country came to him to render homage. They looked upon him with one feeling as a good lord, loyal and wise, and I may truly say that since the birth of Christ, never was such good entertainment nor more honourable than then ; for every day at his table he had more than eighty knights, and four times as many esquires. There made they jousts and revels in Angoulême

Là demuroit toute noblesse,  
Toute joie et toute leesse,  
Largesse, franchise et honour.  
Et l'amoient de bon amour  
Tout si subgit et tout li sien, 1620  
Car il lour fesoit moult de bien.  
Moult le prisoient et amoient  
Cils qui entour lui demoroient,  
Car largesse le sustenoit  
Et noblesse le gouvernoit, 1625  
Sens et temperance et droiture  
Rayson et justice et mesure.  
Homme poet dire par raisoun  
Que tiel Prince ne trovast-hom,  
Qui alast serchier tout le monde 1630  
Sicome il torne à la reounde.  
Li veisin et li enemy  
Avoient grant doute de ly;

---

and Bordeaux. There was found all nobleness, all joy and merriment, bounty, freedom and honour. And all his lieges and his people loved him passionately, for he did them much good. Those who were about his person valued and loved him much, for liberality was his staff and nobleness his director; judgment (had he), temperance and uprightness, reason, equity and moderation. Rightly might men say, that search the whole world, as it turns round, you could find no such Prince. Both neighbours and enemies had great awe of him ; for so high was his

Car tant tut haute sa vaillance  
Que partout regnoit en puissance, 1635  
Si que hom ne doit mye ses faitz  
Oblier en ditz ne en faitz.  
Or n'est pas raison que je faigne  
D'un noble voiage d'Espagne;  
Mais bien est raisons que hom l'emprise : 1640  
Car ce fut la plus noble emprise  
Que onques cristiens emprist,  
Car par force en son lieu remist  
Un roy qu'avoit desherité  
Son frere bastard et maisné, 1645  
Ensi comme vous purrez oïr,  
S'un poy vous voillietz escoultir.

*Coment par la bataille en Bretaine le duc avoit con-  
quis et gaigné sa terre et la puissance d'Engleterre,*

---

courage, that he reigned everywhere in power so that men ought never to forget him either in deed or in word. Nor is there any reason that I should pass over a noble expedition into Spain; but it is right that men praise him for it, for it was the most noble expedition ever undertaken by Christian men; for by his power he restored to his place a king whom his younger and bastard brother had disinherited, as you shall also hear, if you will attend a little.

*How by the battle in Britanny and the English power the Duke  
had gained possession of his land, and Charles de Blois and*

*et Charles de Blois et autres seignours furent occis,  
et monsieur Bertrem Klaykyn et plusours altres  
vaillants furent pris à meisme la bataille.*

O RE est bien temps de comencer  
Ma matiere, et moy addresser  
Au purpos où je voil venir, 1650  
A ce que je vys avenir  
Après la bataille en Britaine,  
Que le duc ovesque sa compaine  
Conquesta et gaigna sa terre  
Par la puissance d'Engleterre. 1655  
Et là fut mort Charles de Blois  
Et maint baron noble et curtoys  
Et de France et de Pikardie,  
De haute et puissante lignie.  
Là fut messire Bertram pris 1660  
De Claykyn, qui ot grant pris,

---

*other nobles were killed, and Messire Bertrand du Guesclin  
and several other valiant men were taken in the same action.*

NOW it is good time that I commence my narrative,  
and address myself to the point I would arrive at,  
to what I saw take place after the battle in Britanny,  
where the Duke with his company, by the might of  
England, conquered and gained possession of his territory.  
And there died Charles de Blois with many a noble and  
courteous baron, both of France and Picardy, of high and  
noble lineage. There was taken prisoner Messire Bertrand  
du Guesclin, who had great worth, and many of high

Et maint haut baron de parage  
De noble et de puissant linage,  
Dount je ne voil les nouns nommer,

Car trop me purroie tarder

1665

A revenir à mon purpos ;

Et pur pluis abregier mes motz,

*Coment après la bataille en Britaigne monsieur Ber-  
trem de Claykyn traist hors du roialme de Fraunce  
la grande compaignie et plusours altres chivalers et  
esquiers pur faire voiage es parties d'Espaigne  
à cause de la guerre qu'avoit longement duré entre  
Espaigne et Aragon, et pur faire paix entre les deux  
roys par gré du pape.*

Vous savez que monsieur Bertrans,  
Qui moult fut hardi et vaillantz,

Traist hors du roialme de France

1670

Par sa proesce et sa puissance

---

rank and noble and powerful birth, whose names I will  
not record, for it would delay me too long. To return to  
my story ; and to farther abridge my words,

*How after the battle in Britanny, Messire Bertrand du Guesclin  
led out of the realm of France his great company and many  
other knights and esquires, to make an excursion into parts  
of Spain, on account of a war which had long lasted between  
Spain and Aragon, and to make peace between the two kings,  
by the Pope's will.*

You know that Messire Bertrand, who was right hardy  
and valiant, led forth from the realm of France by his



Toute la grande compaignie  
 Et moult de la chivacherye  
 Par le gré du pape de Rome;  
 Et fist à li aler maint homme, 1675  
 Barons et bachilers et countes,  
 Chivalers, esquiers, viscontes.  
 Au temps que je fay mencion,  
 Entre Espagne et entre Aragon  
 Avoit guerre moult merveillouse, 1680  
 Que avoit duré moult cruose  
 Le temps que xiiij. ans et plus.  
 Et pur ytant fut eslés  
 Messire Bertram de Claykyn,  
 Qui ot le coer hardi et fyn; 1685  
 Et le bon Jacque de Burbon,  
 Qui counte de la Marche ot noun;  
 Et d'Audenham le mareschal,  
 Qui ot le coer preu et loial;

---

prowess and power all the great company and many knights, agreeably to the will of the Pope of Rome; and made many accompany him, barons and bachelors and counts, knights, esquires and viscounts. At the time I speak of, a very marvellous war was carried on between Spain and Aragon, that had lasted, with much bloodshed, for fourteen years and more. And for this undertaking were chosen Messire Bertrand du Guesclin, who had a heart hardy and bold; the good Jacques de Bourbon, whose title was Count de la Marche, with d'Audenham the marshall, who had a heart

Eustace de Abridhecourt,	1690
Qui fut homme de noble court;	
Monsieur Hugh de Calvelée,	
Qui volontiers fiert de l'espée;	
Et monsieur Maheu de Gournay	
Et maint autre chivaler vray,	1695
Qu'ils iroient en ce país	
Et feroient par lour grant pris,	
Que paix seroit entre les roys,	
Et que le pays et destroys	
Feroient de Gernade ouvrir,	1700
Et que pur aler conquerir	
Purroient tant homme de bien	
Et tant bon seigneur terrien.	
Ensi furent-ils toutz d'accord.	
Quei vous feroy-jeo long record ?	1705
Pur celle accord prist grant argent	
Dans Bertrem et toute sa gent.	

---

valiant and loyal ; Eustace d'Abridhecourt, a man of high nobility, Sir Hugh de Calverley, who willingly struck with the sword ; and Sir Mathew de Gournay, with many other true knights, who all went into this land ; and thought by their high worth to make peace between the kings, and to open the country and the passes to Granada ; and that so many good knights and so many lords of the land might go and conquer it. Thus were they all agreed. Why should I make a long story ? For this alliance did Messire Bertrand and his people receive much pay.

*Coment monsieur Bertrem Claykyn et sa compaignie passèrent les ports de Aragon, et ont maundé au roy Petre de Castille la nouvelle et qu'il vousist overir la passage qu'ils purroient aler en une sainte voiage desus les enemys Dieu ; et le roy en avoit indignacionne, et se apparaila pur defendre sa terre et pur contrestre la compaignie ; mais ils entrerent en Espagne : dount le roy Petre fut coroucez, et disoit qu'il emprendroit vengeance, mais bientost après le roy Petre par grant desloialté fut ousté de sa regalie, et s'enfuit hors de soun roialme, et ceux de Castille coronèrent le bastard Henry roy de Espagne.*

QUANT orent leur voie acoillie,  
 Ly et toute sa compaignie  
 Les ports passerent d'Aragon, 1710  
 Et puis en bien courte faisson

---

*How Messire Bertrand du Guesclin and his company passed the defiles of Aragon, and the tidings were sent to Pedro, King of Castile, that he should open the pass that they might go on pilgrimage against the enemies of God ; and the King was wroth, and set himself to defend his country and resist the company ; but they entered into Spain : whereat King Pedro was much enraged, and said that he would take vengeance ; but soon after was the King Pedro most disloyally ousted from his throne and fled from his kingdom, and they of Castile crowned Enrique the bastard, king of Spain.*

WHEN Messire Bertrand and his company had entered on their way, they passed the defiles of Aragon, and

Manderent au roy de Castelle  
Par un messenger la nouvelle  
Coment il vousist accorder  
Le pays d'Aràgon, et jurer 1715  
Qu'il voille overir la passage  
Pur entrer en un saint voiage  
Desus les enemis de Dieu,  
Où tut bon fait d'armes ait lieu.  
Cil, qui fut orgoillous et fiers, 1720  
Et qui poy cremoit les daungiers  
Auxi ne de ceux ne d'autrui,  
En prist en son coer grant anui,  
Et dit que poy se priseroit  
S'envers ceux gentz obéissoit. 1725  
Lors fist assembler son effort  
Et si l'apparailla moult fort,

---

then in very short terms sent to the King of Castile by a messenger these tidings, how he would grant peace to the country of Aragon, and swear that he would open the passage for to admit a holy expedition against the enemies of God, in which every good feat of arms had place. He, who was both proud and fierce, and who little feared danger, neither from one side or the other, took it much to heart, and said that he should little esteem himself if he yielded to those people. Then he gathered his forces together, and set them right stoutly to defend his

Pur defendre le soen païs.	
Lors manda et grantz et petitiz,	
Gentilx hommes, franks et vileyns,	1730
Et bien quidoit estre certeyns	
D'encontre eux sa terre defendre.	
Beaux douls seigniour, voillez entendre.	
Englois et François et Breton,	
Normands et Pikards et Gascons	1735
Entrerent toutz dedeins Espaigne.	
Auxi fist la grande compaignie.	
Le bon de Calverlée Hugon	
Et Gourney, le soen compaignoun,	
Et maint bon chivaler hardy	1740
Passerent là sanz nul detry,	
Et conquistrent par lour emprise	
Toute la terre que conquise	
Avoit lui roy Petre jadys.	
Moult en fut en son coer malys	1745

---

territory ; he summoned great and small, gentle men, free and villeins, and thought himself well able to defend his land against them. Very kind sirs, ye shall hear. English and French and Bretons, Normans, Picards, Gascons, all entered into Spain, and so made there the great company. The good Hugh de Calverley, and Gournay, his companion, with many good valiant knights passed there without any delay, and by their emprise gained all the country that King Pedro had formerly acquired. Much pain had in his

Dan Petre d'Espagne lui roys ;  
Dist qu'il ne se prise une nois  
Si de tout ce n'en prist vengeance.  
Mais poi li vailli sa puissance,  
Car n'y ot pas un mois passé 1750  
Que par la grant desloialté  
De ceux qui li doivent servir  
Lui covient d'Espagne partir  
Et deguerpir son grant roial,  
Car toutz lui furent disloial 1755  
Cils qui le devoient amer :  
Si que hom doit dire, à voir counter,  
Ne doit estre sires clamez  
Qui de ses hommes n'est amez.  
Apparant est par celi roy, 1760  
Qui tant estoit de fier arroy  
Qu'il n'avoit doubte de nul homme,  
Mais quidoit bien, ce est la somme,

---

heart Don Pedro, King of Spain; he said that he held himself nought, if he took not vengeance for all this. But little availed his power; for scarce did a month elapse, before by the great disloyalty of those who should have served him, he was forced to quit Spain and abandon his great realm; for all those who should have loved him, proved disloyal: so that men might say, to speak truth, that one should not be called lord, who is not loved by his subjects. That is clear in the case of this king, who had so formidable an array that he had fear of no man; but

Que nul grever ne li péust  
Pur grant puissance qu'il éust. 1770  
Mais il ne fut gaires de temps  
Qu'il n'avoit amis ne parents,  
Cosyn germeyn, uncle ne frere,  
Que de lui ne se desappere.  
Son frere bastard coronerent, 1770  
Toute la terre li donerent,  
Et toutz li tindrent à seignour  
En Castille, grant et minour.

*Coment le roy Daun Petre s'en ala vers Seville, et là  
fist trusser son tresour en mer, et tant sigla qu'il vint  
au port de Calonge sur la mer, et le bastard chivacha  
parmy Castille, et prist possessioun des cités et hom-  
mages des seigniours de la terre, lesqueux touz s'accor-*

---

thought clearly that none could grieve him for the vast power that he had. But scarcely did any time elapse, ere he had neither friend nor parent, cousin-german, uncle or brother, who had not left him. They crowned his bastard brother, and gave him all the land; and all in Castile, great and small, held him as their lord.

*How the king Don Pedro took his route towards Seville, and there packing up his treasure put to sea, and so sailed that he came to the port of Corunna on the sea; and how the bastard rode through Castile, and took possession of the cities, receiving homage of the lords of the land, all of whom agreed that*



*derent que Henri seroit roy de Castille, horpris un loial et vaillant chivaler, qui fut appelez Ferant de Castres.*

A quoi faire vous celeroie  
La matiere et alongeroie ? 1775  
Dan Pedre n'osa plus attendre,  
Ainz s'en ala, à voir entendre,  
Trestout droit à Seville, lors  
Où demoré fut ses tresors.  
Niefs et galayes fist tourser, 1780  
Et son tresour y fist porter.  
Hastivement en mer se mist,  
Sicome la matiere dist ;  
De jour et de noit tant sigla  
Qu'au port de Calonge arriva, 1785  
Lequel si est dedeinz Galice.  
Et le bastard ne fut pas nyce ;

---

*Enrique should be king of Castile, except one loyal and valiant knight, who was called Fernando de Castro.*

WHY should I continue to relate the matter at length? Don Pedro dared no longer wait, but went, to understand the truth, direct to Seville, where then were deposited all his treasures. He caused to load ships and galleys, and placed in them his treasure. He put to sea in haste, as it is said ; sailed day and night till he reached the port of Corunna, which is in Gallicia. Nor was the

Parmy Castille chivacha.  
 Unques cité n'y demora  
 Dount il n'eüst possession. 1790  
 N'y remist counte ne baron  
 Que toutz ne li firent hommage,  
 Fors que un soul qu'homme tint à sage.  
*Ferant de Castres* l'appeloient  
 Par noun cils qui le conissoient. 1795  
 Moult parfut vaillantz et gentieux,  
 Et jura, si li vailli Dieux,  
 Que jà jour ne relinquerait  
 Cely qui estoit roy de droit ;  
 Et si toutz faire le voilloient 1800  
 Cils qui le pooir en avoient,  
 Si ne purroit-il consentir  
 Un bastard roialme tenir.  
 Mais toutz les autres du païs  
 S'accorderent tout que Henris 1805

---

bastard wanting, but rode through Castile ; nor was any city left, of which he took not possession. Nor did there count or baron demur to tender him their homage, save only one, who was deemed wise. *Fernando de Castro* was he called by name by those who knew him. Right valiant he was and generous, and swore, so God help him, never would he desert him who was king by right ; and if all the rest who had the power chose to do this, yet could not he consent that a bastard should hold the kingdom. But all the others of the country were of one accord that Enrique

Le demorast roy de Castille  
Et de Toulette et de Seville,  
De Cordual et de Lions,  
Par l'accord de toutz les barons.  
Ensi fut Castille conquise 1810  
Par la puissance et par l'emprise  
De monsieur Bartram de Claykyn.  
Ore purrez-vous oïr la fyn  
Coment depuis ce jour avint,  
Ne passa mye des ans vint. 1815

*Coment le roy Petre estant à Calonge sur la mer, moult  
dolentz des adversités queux lui sount avenuz, se  
souvint qu'il avoit alliances ovesque le roy d'Engle-*

---

should remain king of Castile, of Toledo and of Seville,  
of Cordova and of Leon, by the will of all the barons.  
Thus was Castile conquered by the power and the  
emprise of Messire Bertrand du Guesclin. Thus you will be  
able to hear the end, how from the day it took place, not  
more than twenty years have passed.

*How King Pedro was at Coruña on the sea, bewailing the ill  
fortune that had befallen him, when he remembered that he  
had an alliance with the King of England, and applied for*

*terre et s'appointa par lui et sa puissance bien estre  
socouruz et de ses dolours amers relevez.*

O<sup>R</sup> comence noble matiere  
De noble et puissante mestiere;  
Car pité, amour et droiture  
Mist ensemble sa noriture,  
Ensi com vous purrez oïr. 1820  
Bien m'avez oï gestier  
La matiere de par devant.  
Moult fut le roy Petre dolant,  
A la Calonge sur la mer,  
Et plein de dolorouse amer; 1825  
Car cils lui avoient failli  
Qui li devoient estre amy.  
Moult parestoit plein de tristour,  
Et ne scieut aviser quel tour

---

*succour from him and his forces, and how his bitter grief  
was relieved.*

N<sup>O</sup>w commences the noble subject of a great and mighty matter; for pity, love and uprightness together attended his education, as you shall also hear. Rightly have you heard me tell in rhyme what had happened before. Very sad was Don Pedro at Coruña on the sea, and filled with bitter grief; for they had failed him who should have been his friends. Full sad then was he there, nor knew which way to turn, where he might find succour

Dont il poïst socours avoir	1830
Ne pur or fin ne pur avoir.	
Un jour fut lui roys avisez	
Qu'alliances et amistés	
Avoit éu de moult long temps,	
Dont bien se tenoit pur contens,	1835
Ovesque lui roy d'Engleterre,	
Qui tant estoit de noble affaire	
Que Dieux lui ot doné vertus,	
Que puis le temps le roy Artus	
Ne fut roy de tiele puissance.	1840
Et si pur ycelle alliance	
Et pur amour et pur linage	
Et pur Dieu et pur vasselage	
Le voilloit faire socourir,	
Unquore li purroit garir.	1845

---

either for fine gold or for property. One day the King was advised that he had for a very long time alliance and friendship, with which he was well content, with the King of England, who was of so noble a deportment, and endowed with such power, that since the time of Arthur, never was there king of such might. For this alliance sake, then, for friendship and parentage, for God and his prowess sake, he wished to gain his assistance that he might warrant him.

*Coment le roy Petre appela à lui son conseil, et Ferant de Castres ly conseilla d'envoier al Prince et de lui requerir des secours.*

LORS ad son conseil appelé  
Et la matier lour ad monstre,  
Et chescun dist qu'il disoit bien.  
Adonc un seigniour terrien  
Parla, qui moult fut plain d'avys, 1850  
Ferant de Castres lui gentils ;  
Et dist : « Sire, entendez à moy.  
Par celle foy que je vous doi,  
Tout primers, si vous m'en croiés,  
Au Prince droit vous manderez 1855  
D'Aquitaine, qui est ses filtz.  
Moult parest prudhomme et hardiz  
Et des gentz d'armes si puissant  
Que je croy qu'il n'est hom vivant

---

*How King Pedro summoned his council, and Fernando de Castro advised him to send to the Prince and request of him succour.*

THEN he summoned his council and laid before them the matter, and each thought that he said well. Then a noble landed lord, a man full of good counsel, Fernando de Castro the gentle, spoke and said : « Sire, give heed to me. By that faith I owe you, at once, if you believe me, send straightway to the Prince of Aquitaine, who is his son. A man right preux and hardy is he, and so strong in men-at-arms, that there is no man living, save God alone,

( Fors que Dieu, qui li fesist tort ; 1860  
Et si vous luy trovés d'accort  
De vous aider, soiez certains  
Qu'Espayn raverez en vos mains  
Avant que cest an soit passé. »  
A tout ce fut bien accordé. 1865

*Comment le roy daun Petre escript ses lettres au Prince  
en ly requerant à ses bons socours et que ly plerroit  
d'envoier niefs pur lui emparer, et envoia ses  
messages oue meisme lettyr.*

D AUN Petre, le roy de Castille,  
Erraument escript et secille,  
Empriant au Prince humblement  
Que pur Dieu tut primerement

---

who can wrong him. And if you find him ready to help you, be certain that you will again have Spain in your hands, before this year is over. » To all this it was well agreed.

*How the King Don Pedro wrote his letter to the Prince, seeking his good help, and asking him to send ships to confer with him, and sent his messengers with the letters.*

D ON Pedro, the King of Castile, wrote immediately, and sealed his letter, humbly entreating the Prince, that



Et pur amour et pur pité, 1870  
Pur alliance et pur amisté,  
Et pur cas de linage auxi,  
Et pur droit qu'il ad sanz nul si,  
A très-noble Prince puissant,  
Honorable, preu et vaillant, 1875  
Qu'il lui plesse à socourir  
Droiture, et li qui requerir  
Ly voet en noun de pacience ;  
Et qu'il vousist par sa vaillance  
Envoyer niefs pur ly passer 1880  
Et pur lui salvement mener,  
Car il voleit parler à lui.  
Li messages vint sanz detri.

*Coment ly messages du roy Petre trova le Prince à  
Burdeaux et luy ad présenté les lettres, et le Prince*

---

for God's sake first, for love and for pity, for the alliance and for friendship, and for relationship and for the right which he had without any objection, to the right noble Prince, honourable, preux, and valiant, for it was his pleasure to aid the right, and him who asked it on the plea of suffering ; also that he would by his own power send ships for his passage, and to convey him in safety, for he wished to confer with him. The messenger went without delay.

*How the messenger of King Pedro found the Prince at Bordeaux,  
and presented the letters to him, and the Prince marvelled,*

*s'en merveilla, et sur ceo appela à ly ses chivalers  
et meillours conseillers, et leur mounstra les lettyrs,  
lesqueux ly disoient leur avis touchant cest fait; et sur  
ce ordeignez furent gentz d'armes pur querir le roy  
Petre.*

**A** Burdeaux le Prince trova,  
Qui moult forment s'esmerveilla. 1885  
Quant il avoit la lettre lue,  
Sitost come il eut survéwe,  
Lors appela ses chivalers  
Et toutz ses meillours conseillers;  
Les lettres leur ad tutz monstrez 1890  
Ensi come ils furent dittez,  
Et leur dist : « Beaux seignours, par foi,  
Merveille ai de ceo que je voi.  
Fols est qui s'affie en puissance.  
Vous avez bien vëu que France 1895

---

*and summoned his knights and best counsellors and shewed  
them the letters; and how each gave their opinion on this  
affair, whereupon some men-at-arms were appointed to seek  
King Pedro.*

**A**T Bordeaux he found the Prince, who marvelled  
greatly. When he had read the letter, so soon as he  
had surveyed it, he called together his knights and all his  
best counsellors, and showed to all the letters, just as they  
were written; and said to them : « Good lords, by my  
faith, marvel have I at what I see. Foolish is he who trusts  
in his might. You have well seen that France was the chief

Estoit le pluis riche païs  
Des cristiens, solonc m'avis,  
Et ore ad droit Dieux consentu  
Que nous avons éu vertu  
Pur le notre droit conquerer. 1900  
Et auxi ai-je oÿ conter  
Que li leoperdz et lour compaignie  
Se desployerent en Espagne ;  
S'estre pooit en notre temps,  
Hom nous en tiendroit plus vaillantz. 1905  
Un bon conseil sur ce point,  
Seigniours, nous viendrait bien à point :  
Ore en dites votre purpos. »  
Adonques li a dit Chaundos,  
Et puis Thomas de Felton ; 1910  
Cils deux estoient compaignoun  
De son conseil li plus privé.  
Et lui disoient pur verté

---

land of christians, according to my understanding ; and now has God given consent that we have had courage of our own right to gain it. And also I have heard tell that the leopards and their company spread themselves in Spain ; if this might be in our time, men would hold us the more valiant. Good counsel upon this point, my lords, would be very seasonable for us : tell me now your opinion. » Then spoke Chandos, and after him Thomas de Felton ; these two were companions in his most privy counsel, and spoke

Que ce accomplir ne purroit,  
S'ascun alliance n'avoit 1915  
Au roy de Navarre, qui lors  
Tenoit le passage des ports.  
Par le conseil qu'ils accorderent,  
Au roy de Navarre manderent,  
Le counte d'Armynak auxi 1920  
Et toutz les barons sanz nul si  
Du noble païs d'Aquitaine.  
Et lors, c'est bien chose certaine,  
Tut le grant conseil fut ensemble.  
Chescun disoit ce qui li semble 1925  
Bon affaire de cele emprise ;  
Et sachez que bien fut comprise  
Par tiel conseil et tiel accorde,  
Sicome je oi en mon recorde,  
Que hom fist vessealx apparailler 1930  
A Bayonne sanz detrier,

---

to him in truth, that this could not be accomplished, unless they had an alliance with the King of Navarre, who then held the passage of the defiles. Upon the counsel they gave, they sent to the King of Navarre, and the Count d'Armagnac also and all the barons without fail of the noble land of Aquitaine. And then, as is well known, all the great council was together. Each said what appeared to him the best to be done in this enterprise ; and know that it was undertaken by such counsel and accord, as I have it in my memory, that vessels were equipped at Bayonne without

Gentz d'armes et archiers auxi,  
Pur aler quere sanz detri  
En Espagne le roy Peron.  
Monsieur Thomas de Felleton, 1935  
Lui grant seneschall d'Aquitaine,  
Devoit estre lour chiefeigne;  
Mais entre eux qu'ils deussent trusser  
Lour vessealx et eux aprestier,

*Coment le roy daun Petre arriva à Bayone, et amena  
ovesque lui sez filz et filles et ce que ly fut lessé de  
soun tresour, et ly Prince s'en ala encontre ly, et  
firent grant deduit; et après ce le Prince et le roy de  
Navarre graunterent de socorir le roy Petre.*

Luy roy daun Petro à Bayone 1940  
Arriva en propre persone,  
Et amena filles et fieux  
Et tut le remanant que Dieux

---

delay, men-at-arms and archers also, to go at once into Spain  
and seek Don Pedro. Sir Thomas de Felton, the great senes-  
chal of Aquitaine, was appointed their leader; but amongst  
those whose duty it was to equip and get ready the ships,

*How the King Don Pedro arrived at Bayonne and brought with  
him his sons and daughters and all that was left to him of  
his wealth, and the Prince went to meet him, and made great  
rejoicings; and afterwards the Prince and the King of  
Navarre granted assistance to Don Pedro.*

THE King Don Pedro in his own person arrived at  
Bayonne, and brought daughters and sons and all

Ly eust lessé de son tresor,  
Pierres, perles, argent et or. 1945  
Quant ly Prince en scieut nouvelles,  
Ly semblerent bones et belles ;  
Countre ly à Baione ala  
Et noblement le festoia  
En grant joie et en grant deduyt, 1950  
Et là firent maint bel conduyt.  
Que vous purroy-je detrier  
La matiere et plus alonger ?  
Tout furent d'accord sanz detri,  
Et le roy de Navarre auxi, 1955  
De roy daun Petre conforter  
Et en Espaigne remener.  
Puisque pur Dieu et pur pité  
Et pur droiture et amisté  
Si humblement li requeroit, 1960  
Bien socouruz estre devoit ;

---

that God had left him of his riches, stones, pearls, silver and gold. When the Prince heard the tidings, they seemed to him good and joyful ; he went to meet him at Bayonne, and entertained him nobly with great joy and festivity ; and there he comported, himself well. Why should I delay my story and lengthen it more ? All were agreed without delay and the King of Navarre as well, to comfort King Don Pedro and bring him again to Spain. Since for God and pity's sake, for justice and friendship, he so humbly sought it, it was

Toutz furent d'accord sur ce point,  
Et dès lors ne s'aresta point.

*Coment le Prince revenoit à Burdeaux, et fist apparailler ses gentz, et Chaundos ala quere les compaignons de la Graund Compaignie, lesqueux venoient ; et plusours altres Englois pristrent congé du bastard Henri, et venoient au Prince hors de Espagne ; et le bastard, quant il avoit oÿ noveles de ceste emprise, voloit avoir encombrez les Engleis, et fist trencher lour chemyns, qu'ils ne deussent avoir passez vers le Prince.*

Luy Prince, qui tant ot vertus,  
A Burdeaux s'en est revenuz  
Et fist ses gentz apparailler.  
Maint noble et vaillant chivaler

1965

---

right to render him assistance ; all were agreed on this point, nor after that did they delay further.

*How the Prince returned to Bordeaux, and got ready his forces, and Chandos fetched the companions of the Great Company, who came, and many other English took leave of the bastard Enrique, and came to the Prince out of Spain ; and the bastard, when he heard the news of this enterprise, wished to have harrassed the English and caused to cut off their route, that they might not pass towards the Prince.*

THE Prince, who had such virtue, then returned to Bordeaux, and got his forces in readiness. Many a



Manda par trestout son païs,  
N'i demora grant ne petitz ;  
Et Chaundos ne demora mye, 1970  
Car à la Graunde Compaignie  
Ala quere les compaignons  
Jesques à quatorze penons,  
Sanz les autres, qui retournerent  
D'Espaigne, quant ils escouterent 1975  
Que ly Prince aïder voilloit  
Le roy daun Petre de son droit.  
Congé pristrent du bastard Henri,  
Lequel lour dona sanz detry  
Et les paia moult voluntiers, 1980  
Car ne ly fesoient mestiers.  
Roy de Castille fut à ce temps,  
Et bien s'en tenoit pur contens  
Que nul tollir ne li péüst  
Pur grant puissance qu'il éust. 1985

---

noble and valiant knight did he send for through all the land, nor did any delay great or small. Nor was Chandos inactive, for of the Great Company he collected companions to the number of fourteen pennons, not reckoning those who returned from Spain, when they heard that the Prince wished to aid the King Don Pedro in his right. They took leave of the bastard Enrique, who gave it them without delay, and paid them very willingly, for he had no longer need of them. King of Castile was he then, and with that was well content, that none could wrest it from him on account of

Lors s'en s'en revint, à brief mot court,  
 Dan Eustace d'Abrichecourt  
 Devereux, Cressewell et Briquet,  
 Qui savoient de lui parler fait,  
 Et puis le sire d'Aubeterre, 1990  
 Qui volontiers poursuivent guerre,  
 Et le bon Barnat de la Salle.  
 Toutz les compaignons de la Galle  
 Retournerent en Aquitaine ;  
 Mais avant eurent moult de payne : 1995  
 Car quant le bastard scieut de vray  
 Que le Prince sanz nul delay  
 Vouloit le roy daun Petre aider,  
 Moult lour purchacea d'encombrer.  
 Trencher lour fist toutz les chimyns, 2000  
 Et toutz les soirs et les matyns  
 Maint embusshe sur eux saillir  
 Et par maintes fois assaillir

---

the great power that he had. There then came back at short notice, Sir Eustace d'Abrichecourt, Devereux, Cresswell and Briquet, who knew how to speak of their deeds ; and then the lord d'Aubeterre, who willingly carried on war, with the good Bernard de la Salle, all the companions of Wales returned to Aquitaine ; but first they encountered much trouble ; for when the bastard knew certainly that the Prince without delay willed to assist King Don Pedro, much he planned to encumber them. He caused all the roads to be cut up, and every night and day set men in ambush to sally out

Des geneteurs et des villains ;  
 Mais Dieux, qui est Roy souverains, 2005  
 Les reamena en sauveté  
 Tout droit à la principalte :  
 Dont li Prince fut moult joyous,  
 Car moult parestoit coveytous  
 De son desire accomplir. 2010  
 Et lors ad fait sanz alentir  
 Apparailler or et argent  
 Et deniers pur paier sa gent.

*Du temps quant ly très-noble Prince comencea cest  
 graund emprise.*

S<sup>EIGNOUR</sup>, le temps que je vous dy  
 Ce fut après que Dieux nasquy, 2015  
 Mille ans trois centz sessante et sis,  
 Que chanter laist l'oïsel gentils,

and attack them, oftentimes with light cavalry and peasants ; but God, who is the King of kings, reconducted them in safety right on to the quarters of the Prince, making the Prince right joyous : for he was very anxious to accomplish his desire. And then, without further delay he, caused to prepare gold and silver and money to pay his forces.

*Of the time when the right noble Prince commenced this  
 great undertaking.*

S<sup>IRS</sup>, the time I tell you of, was from the birth of Christ one thousand three hundred and six years, when the gentle bird could sing, three weeks before the

Trois semaines devant le jour  
Que Jhesu-Crist par sa douceur  
Nasqui de la Virge Marie, 2020  
Qu'en cely temps, ne doutez mye,

*De la très-grant ordeignaunce faite à Burdeaux par  
le Prince pur le voiage d'Espagne.*

Luy francs Prince moult noblement  
Fist ordeigner son paiement.  
Adonques vëissez à Burdeaux  
Forger espées et coteaux, 2025  
Cotes de fer et bacynettes,  
Gleyves, haches et gantilettes.  
Moult parfut noble li arrois,  
S'avoir y deüst xxx. roys.

---

day when Jesus Christ of his goodness was born of the  
Virgin Mary, that at this time, doubt not,

*Of the very great ordinance made by the Prince at Bordeaux  
for his voyage into Spain.*

THE frank Prince right nobly ordered all payment to be  
made. Then might you see at Bordeaux the forging of  
swords, long and short, iron plates and bacynettes, glaives,  
axes, and gauntlets. Right noble was the array, as if there  
had been thirty kings.

*Coment l'assemblée fust faite à Dasc, et les Compaignouns se logerent en Bascle et entre les mountains plus que deux moys pur attendre le passage, et là demorerent tout l'iver jesques au moys de feverere.*

<p><b>A</b> Dasc fut faite l'assemblée          Du Prince à la chiere membrée.          Là s'assemblerent li baron          Et les chivalers d'environ.          Toutz les Compaignons et serjens          Se logierent en celi temps,          En Baskle et entre les montaignes          Se logierent les Grantz Compaignes.          Plus que deux moys y demurerent,          Moult de suffrete y endurerent,          Tout pur attendre le passage          Qu'ils puissent aller lour voiage.</p>	<p>2030      2035      2040</p>
-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	---------------------------------------------------------------------------------

*How the rendezvous was made at Dax, and the Companions were quartered in the Basque country, and among the mountains more than two months to be ready for the passage; and they remained there all the winter until the month of February.*

**A**T Dax the gathering was made of the Prince with the fierce face. There assembled the barons and the knights from every side. All the Companions and soldiers lodged themselves at that time in the Basque country, and among the mountains were quartered the Great Companies. There they remained more than two months, they endured much suffering, waiting till the passage was open that they might proceed on their expedition. There stayed

Là demorerent tout l'yver  
Jesques au moy de feverer,  
Tant que tout l'ost fut assemblé  
Et li lointaigne et ly privé;  
Mais, à ce que je entendy,  
Luy Prince de Burdeaux party.

2045

*Coment le Prince se departi de Burdeaux, et la très-noble dame la princesse fist très-amers dolours et complaints à cause de son departir, et le Prince conforta la dame moult noblement; et bientost après la très-noble dame enfaunta un filz que fust nomez Richard, et le Prince et maint gent en avoient grant joie.*

A PRÈS le Noel xv. jours  
Ot là très-ameres dolours  
En son coer la noble princesse;  
Elle regretoit la dieuesse

2050

---

they all the winter until the month of February, so that all the forces were assembled both from far and near. At which time, as I have heard, the Prince departed from Bordeaux.

*How the Prince moved from Bordeaux; and the very noble lady the Princess was bitterly grieved and sorrowful at his departure; and the Prince comforted the lady right nobly; and soon afterwards the right noble dame brought forth a son, who was named Richard, and the Prince and many people were much rejoiced thereat.*

FIFTEEN days after Christmas, the most bitter sorrow had in her heart the noble Princess; she lamented the

D'amours, qui l'avoit assenée  
A si très-haute majestée ;  
Car elle avoit le plus puissant  
Prince de ce siecle vivant. 2055  
Soyent disoit : « Las ! quei feroie,  
Dieux et Amours, si je perdoie  
La droite flour de gentillesse,  
Le flour de très-noble hauteuse,  
Celi qui eu monde n'ad pier 2060  
De vaillance, à voir recorder ?  
Mors, tu me seroies proschaine.  
Ore n'ay-je coer, sanc, ne vayne,  
Que ne me faille et tout li membre  
Quant de son partir ne remembre ; 2065  
Car tut li monde dist ensy  
Qu'unques nul hom ne s'enbaty  
En voiage si perillous.  
— Hé ! très-doux Piere glorious,

---

goddess of love, who had destined her to so high  
majesty ; for she had the most puissant Prince at that time  
living. Often did she say : « Alas ! what would I do, God  
and Love, if I should lose the true flower of magnanimity ;  
him who in the world has no peer for courage, to record  
the truth ? O death, thou wouldst be at hand. Now I have  
no heart, no blood, no veins, but every member fails me  
when I think of his departure ; for all the world agree,  
that never man embarked on an expedition so perilous.  
O most kind and glorious Father, comfort me with your



Confortez-moy par vo pité. » 2070  
Là quant ad ly Prince escouté  
Ce que la france dame dist,  
— Moult très-noble confort luy fist  
Et luy ad dit : « Dame, lessez  
Le plorer, ne vous esmaiez ; 2075  
Car Dieux est puissant de tout faire. »  
Luy Prince de très-noble affaire  
— Doucement la dame conforte,  
Et là, si Dieux me reconforte,  
Prist de luy congié doucement, 2080  
Et luy dist amiablement :  
« Dame, encor nous nous reverrons  
En tiel point que joie en aurons  
Et nous et tut li notre amy,  
Car mon coer le me dit ensy. » 2085  
— Moult doucement s'entr'accolerent  
Et en baisant congié donerent.

---

pity ! » There the Prince had heard what the noble lady had said ; right much noble comfort did he give her and said : « O lady, cease your lament, nor be dismayed, for God is able to do all things. » Thus the right noble Prince gave sweet comfort to his lady, and there, so God give me peace, took his leave kindly of her, and said affectionately : « Lady, we shall meet again in such case that we shall have joy, both we and all our friends ; for my heart tells this to me. » Very kindly then did they embrace, and took leave with kisses. Then might you see dames in tears,

Là véissez dames plorer,  
Et damoiseles dolouser.  
L'une ploroit pur son amy, 2090  
Et l'autre auxi pur son mary.  
La Princesse ot de dolour tant,  
Qu'adonques fut grosse d'enfant,  
Que de la dolour delivera  
D'un beal filtz et enfanta, 2095  
Lequel filtz *Richard* ot à noun,  
Dont grant joie partut fist hom ;  
Et li Prince, si Dieux m'avoie,  
En ot auxi à coer grant joie ;  
Et dient tut comunalment : 2100  
« Vez-ci moult beal comencement. »

*Comment ly Prince s'en est departiz de Burdeaux, et  
venoit à Dasc, et là demura tant que nouvelles ly  
venoient que le duc de Lancastre, son frere, venoit*

---

and damsels to grieve; the one wept for her lover, and the other also for her husband. The Princess suffered such grief, being then great with child, that from sorrow she was delivered and brought forth a lovely son, who was named *Richard*, at which all were much rejoiced; and the Prince, so God help me, was also right glad at heart; and it was commonly said : « See here a right good beginning. »

*How the Prince departed from Bordeaux and came to Dax, where he staid till the the news reached him, that the Duke of Lancaster, his brother, was coming to him; and there he*

*devers ly ; et lors li attendi illoeges. Le duc s'en hasta  
devers le Prince, son frere, en chivachant parmy  
Constantyn et Britaigne, et duc Johan li festoia  
moult noblement.*

LORS se parti, à voir entendre,  
Lui Prince, plus ne volt attendre.  
Pluis longement n'y mist sojour.  
Moult parfut riche son atour. 2105  
A Dasc vint et là sojourna ;  
Car nouvelles on li porta  
Que le duc de Lancastre vint,  
Qui grant gent gouverne et maintint.  
Lors s'avisa qu'il demourroit 2110  
Et li soen frere attenderoit.  
Et sachez que li noble ducs,  
Qui moult ot en li de vertus,

---

*awaited him. The Duke hastened towards the Prince, his  
brother, journeying through Cotentin and Brittany, and the  
Duke John entertained him right nobly.*

THEN the Prince departed, to understand the truth, not  
wishing to tarry, or make any longer sojourn ; very  
rich was his array. He first came to Dax and there he  
remained, for one brought him tidings, of the coming of the  
Duke of Lancaster, who commanded and maintained a great  
many people. Then he bethought himself to stay and await  
his brother. And know too that the noble Duke, who had

Quant il oï dire ses ditz  
Que li Prince estoit departiz 2115  
De Burdeaux, moult ent fut dolantz,  
Car n'i quidoit venir à temps.  
En Constantyn fut arrivez  
Lui noble ducs et redoutez ;  
Moult se hasta à chivacher 2120  
Et tut li noble chivaler.  
Constantyn passa et Bretayne.  
Contre li ad beal compaignie ;  
Car de Bretayne vint duc Johans,  
Ovesque li ot des pluis grantz 2125  
Barons de trestout son païs,  
Ceux qui pluis tenoit à amys :  
Clisson et Canolle et plusours,  
Queux li fesoient grantz honours.  
En son païs les festoia ; 2130  
Mais moult petit y demora,

---

many virtues, when he heard the report that the Prince had moved from Bordeaux, was very sad, for he thought that he had come too late. In Cotentin was he then arrived, the noble and redoubted Duke, whence he hastened to march, he and all his noble knights; and passed thence into Brittany, where he was met by a noble company; for there came the Duke John, and with him very many barons from all his land, those he most looked upon as friends : Clisson, Canolle, and many more, that they might do him honour. In his land he entertained them; but very

Car il le covenoit haster  
Pur le Prince, qui volt passer.  
Congé ad pris sanz detrier  
Au duc Johan et à sa mulier.

2135

*Coment le duc de Lancastre tant chivacha qu'il est venuz à Burdeaux, et là trova la princesse qui luy festoia moult doucement, et luy ad demaundé des nouvelles d'Engleterre ; et en après luy noble duc de Lancastre s'en chivacha parmy les Landes tant qu'il est venuz à la cité de Dax, et là trova le Prince, son frere, lequel ly vint à l'encontre, et s'encontrerent moult amiablement ; et le Prince ly ad demandé des novells d'Engleterre, et moult grant joie demenerent ensemble, et le counte de Foys lors estoit illoeqs.*

**Q**UEI vous feroie long demain ?  
Tant chivacha et soir et main

---

little did the Duke tarry ; for it was his aim to hasten to the Prince, who was wishing to proceed. Leave then he took without delay, of Duke John and his lady.

*How the Duke of Lancaster marched on till he came to Bordeaux, where he found the Princess, who received him most kindly, and asked him news from England ; and afterwards the noble Duke of Lancaster marched through the Landes until he came to the city of Dax, where he found the Prince, his brother, who came out to meet him ; and they met most affectionately, and the Prince asked of him news from England, and they were very joyful together, and the Count de Foix was there at that time.*

**W**HY should I delay further ? The noble Duke of Lancaster rode on night and morning, until he

Que droit à Burdeaux est venuz  
De Lancastre lui noble ducs,  
Et là il trova la Princesse,  
Qui de tout honur est maistresse, 2140  
Qui le festoia doucement ;  
Et moult très-amiablement  
Li ad demandé de la terre  
Coment hom fait en Engleterre ;  
Et le duc li ad tout conté. 2145  
Et puis sachez de verité  
Que li duc gaires n'attendi  
Que de Burdeaux s'en departi.  
Parmy les Landes chivacha  
Et moult durement soy hasta 2150  
Tant qu'il vint à Dasc la cité,  
Où son frere le Prince ad trové,  
Qui à l'encontre de li vint,  
Et des chivalers plus que vint.

---

arrived at Bordeaux; there he found the Princess, of all honour the mistress, who received him very kindly; and very affectionately she asked him of England, what was going on there; and the Duke told her every thing. And then know for truth, that the Duke tarried but little ere he left Bordeaux. He rode through the Landes; and made very great haste, until he reached the city of Dax, where he found the Prince, his brother, who came out to meet him with more than twenty knights. Know also that at this

Et si sachez que à cest foitz 2155  
Y estoit lui conte de Foys.  
Grant joie ensemble demenerent  
Auxitost qu'ils s'entre-contrerent.  
Lors s'acolerent en baisant,  
Et li Prince dist en riant : 2160  
« Ducs de Lancastre, frere douls,  
En notre pais bien veignez-vous.  
Dites quei fait le roy, no pierre,  
Et la roïgne, notre miere,  
Toutz nos freres et notre amy. » 2165  
— « Sire, dist-il, la Dieu mercy,  
Ils ne font trestoutz fors que bien.  
No pierre dist que s'il faut rien  
Qu'il poet faire, si li mandez.  
No miere vous salue assez. 2170  
Touz nos freres se recomandent  
A vous, et par moy ils vous mandent

---

time the Count de Foix was there. Great joy had they together ; so soon as they met they embraced kissing each other ; and the Prince said smiling : « Sweet brother, Duke of Lancaster, be welcome in mutual peace. Say how fares the King, our father, and the Queen, our mother, all our brothers and all friends ? » — « Sire, said he, thanks to God, they are all nought but well. Our father said that, if you require anything in his power, to inform him. Our mother also salutes you ; all our brothers commend themselves to you, and by me they send you word, that they willingly



Qu'ils volontiers fuissent venu,  
Si bon congé éussent éu. »

*Coment le duc de Lancastre et le Prince furent venuz à Dax en grant deduit en attendant le passage outre les ports : c'est assavoir le pas de Rouncevalle, et le counte de Foitz se retourna en son païs; et homme disoit que le roy de Navarre estoit alez ou le bastard Henri, et monsieur Hugh de Calvelée eust pris certaines villes en Navarre, et sur ce le roy de Navarre tramist ses messages au Prince; et après vint monsieur Martyn de Lacarre au Prince et lour approcha le passage.*

ENSEMENT tout parlant en vinrent 2175  
A Dax et par les mains se tinrent,  
Et si sachés que celle nuyt  
Demenerent moult grant deduyt.

---

would have come, if they had received permission.

*How the Duke of Lancaster and the Prince came to Dax with great joy, waiting till the passages were open beyond the defiles, the pass namely of Roncesvalles, and the Count de Foix returned home; and men said that the King of Navarre was gone with the bastard Enrique, and that Sir Hugh de Calverley had taken certain towns in Navarre, and on this the King of Navarre sent his messengers to the Prince, and afterwards came Don Martin de Lacarre to the Prince; and how they approached the passage.*

THUS in converse they came to Dax, holding each other by the hand, and you may know that that night they

De lour parlement pluis ne say,  
 Ne plus ne vous en conteray. 2180  
 Lui counte de Foys s'en tourna  
 Ou païs où il demura ;  
 Et lui Prince à Dasc demeure  
 En attendant le temps et l'eure  
 Que il poïst passer les ports, 2185  
 Que vous seroit long li records.  
 Encore ne savoit-il pas  
 Se il passeroit par le pas  
 De Rainchevaus ; car hom disoit  
 Que li roy de Navarre estoit 2190  
 Alliez ou le bastard Henry,  
 Dount hom maint furent esbahy ;  
 Mais en ce temps et ce termyne  
 Mirand et le Point la Reïne  
 Ot pris Hughes de Calverley, 2195  
 Dount Navarre fut esfraé.

---

made a very great entertainment; but of their conversation I know no more, nor can I tell you further. The Count de Foix returned to his territory, where he remained, and the Prince stayed at Dax, waiting the time and the hour, when he might pass the defiles, which would be a long story. Besides he knew not yet whether he might go by the pass of Roncesvalles ; for it was said that the King of Navarre was in alliance with the bastard Enrique, at which many men were astonished ; but, just at this season, Hugh de Calverley had taken Miranda and Puente la Reina, at which

Luy roy tramist son messenger  
Au Prince tost sanz atargier,  
Et li ad mandé tout le fait  
Ce que Hughes lour avoit fait. 2200  
Après vint messire Martyn  
De Lacarre, qui ot coer fin.  
Tant fist par son sens, qu'il ot sage,  
Qu'il lour approcha le passage.

*Comment le roy de Navarre devers le Prince à Saint-Johan-du-Pé-des-Portz, et le duc de Lancastre lui vint à l'encontre, et lors furent les sermentz renouvellez, et après ce fut ordeigné que l'avant-garde passeroit.*

ASSEZ vous purroye counter 2205  
Pur la matiere destourber ;  
Mais bientost puis ce jour avint  
Que ly roy de Navarre vint

---

Navarre was alarmed. And the King sent his messengers to the Prince without delay, and sent him an account of all that Hugh had done. Afterwards came Don Martin de Lacarre, of noble courage, who so managed by his wisdom, that they were able to approach the pass.

*How the King of Navarre moved towards the Prince to Saint-Jean-Pied-de-Port, and the Duke of Lancaster came to meet him, and then were the oaths renewed, and after this it was ordered, that the advanced guard should pass.*

ENOUGH might I tell you, which would interrupt the narrative ; but shortly after this day it was that the King

A Seint-Johan-du-Pé-des-Portz,  
Et à l'encontre lui vint lors 2210  
De Lancastre le noble ducs  
Et lui Chaundos, qui moult fut prus.  
Devers le Prince li amenerent  
En un lieu où ils le troverent.  
*Piers Forard* avoit à noun 2215  
Le lieu, la ville et la maison.  
Là fut le roy Petre venuz,  
Et là fut sur le corps Jesus  
Touz lour sermentz renovellez,  
Et là fuist chescun accordez 2220  
De tout ce qu'il devoit avoir.  
Ore voe-je faire mon devoir  
De bouter avant ma matiere ;  
Car lendemayn, c'est chose clere,

---

of Navarre came to Saint-Jean-Pied-de-Port ; and then came to meet him the noble Duke of Lancaster and Chandos, who was right preux ; they led him towards the Prince, to a place where they found him ; the name of the town and the house was called *Peyreborade* : thither had Don Pedro come, and there were renewed upon the body of Jesus all their oaths ; and there was each agreed on all that should be done. Now is it my part to go forward with my story. For next day, as is well known, it is a clear thing, the King

Luy roy et lui ducs et lui Chaundos	2225
Se departirent à briefs motz :	
Car accordé ensi estoit	
Que l'avant-garde passeroit	
Tout primer le lundi proschein.	
Et cils, sanz faire long demain,	2230
Sont à Saint-Johan arrivez.	
Illoeques furent hostellez.	
Et lendemain fist hom crier	
Que chescun voille apparailler	
Pur passer le proschein lundy,	2235
Voir cils qui furent esly	
Pur passer ovesque l'avant-garde.	
Ore est droit que je preigne garde	
A l'avant-garde deviser ;	
Les seigniours primers doi nomer.	2240

---

the Duke and Chandos, departed at once : for thus it was determined, that the advance guard should pass, on the next following Monday ; and these, without much delay, arrived at Saint-Jean, and there took up their quarters. And on the day following made a proclamation, that each should be in readiness to pass on the next Monday ; that is, all those that were chosen to pass with the vanguard. Now is it right that I take care to tell you of the vanguard ; first, I must name the lords.

*Coment le duk de Lancastre amena l'avant-garde de  
seignours et d'autres esteantz en sa compaignie.*

**L**E duc de Lancastre, qui prus  
Fut et hardi et corageus,  
Et si ot en sa compaignie  
Moult de noble chivalerie.  
Là fut le bon Thomas d'Uffort, 2245  
Qui le coer ot hardi et fort ;  
De Hastynges le bon Hugon,  
Et Beauchamp, le sien compaignoun,  
Guilliams, qui moult fut gentils,  
Au counte de Warrewyk filtz ; 2250  
Le sire de Neofvyll auxi,  
Et maint bon chivaler hardi,  
Que maintenant ne voil nomer,  
Car aillours en vorray parler.

---

*How the Duke of Lancaster led the vanguard, and of the nobles  
and others who were in his company.*

**T**HE Duke of Lancaster, who was preux, hardy and courageous, had in his company many noble knights. There was the good Thomas d'Ufford, who had a heart hardy and brave ; the good Hugh of Hastings, and William Beauchamp, his companion, who was right gentle, son to the Earl of Warwick ; the Lord of Neville also, and many valiant knights, whom now I will not name, for elsewhere

Après vous doi nomer Chaundos, 2255  
Qui fut conestable del hos,  
Qui menoit touz les compaignons,  
Desqueux vous voil nosmer les nouns :  
Primers fut le sire de Rays,  
Qui fut bon et preus en ses faitz ; 2260  
Après le seignour d'Aubeterre,  
Qui voluntiers persuoit guerre ;  
Messire Garsis de Castelle,  
Qui ot le coer preu et loielle ;  
Et Gilbard de la Mote auxi, 2265  
Et de Rochewarde Ammery ;  
Et messire Robert Camyn ;  
Cressewell et Briket le fyn ;  
Et messire Richard Taunton,  
Et Guillaume de Felleton, 2270  
Et Willecok le Boteller,  
Et Peverell, qui ot coer fier ;

---

I shall have to speak of them. Next I should name to you Chandos, who was Constable of the host, and led all the companions, whose names I will tell you : first was the Lord de Raix, good and preux in his deeds ; next the Signor d'Aubeterre, who willingly joined in the war ; Messire Garsis de Castelle, who had a heart preux and loyal ; Gilbert de la Motte also, with Aimery de Rochechouart, and Sir Robert Camyn, Creswell and Briquet the noble, with Sir Richard Taunton, and William de Felton, Willecok le Boteller, and Peverell, of a fierce spirit ; John Sandes, a



Johan Sandes, hom de renoun ;  
Et Johan Alein, son compaignon,  
Et puis après Shakell et Haulé. 2275  
Tout cil peignoun, sanz demoré,  
Furent à Chaundos compaignon,  
Et mis par desoubz son peignon.  
Après furent li mareschaulx,  
Qui furent prodhomme et loiaulx. 2280  
L'uns fut Stephen de Cosinton,  
Qui moult estoit noble person ;  
Et l'autre le bon Guychard d'Angle,  
Qui ne doit estre mis en l'angle,  
Ainz est bien droit que hom s'en remorge, 2285  
Ovesque eux le peignon Saint George,  
Et moult d'autre chivalerie  
Avoient en lour compaignie.

---

man of renown, with John Allein, his companion. Then followed Shakell and Hawley. All these pennons, without demur, were the companions of Chandos, and enrolled themselves under his banner. After came the Marshals, who were men preux and loyal. The one was Stephen de Cosinton, who was a right noble man, and the other the good Guichard d'Angle, who must not be put in a corner, but is it right that men should remember him. They had the banner of Saint George, and many other knights, with them in their company.

*Coment l'avant-garde passa outre les portz à la noubre  
de x. mille chivalx oue graund peyne et duretè, et  
les gentz se logerent dedeinz Navarre.*

S EIGNIOUR, or vous ay devisé  
L'avant-garde et toute nomé, 2290  
Qui ne se sont pas alenty ;  
Mais ils passerent le lundy,  
Quatorsieme jour en fevrier.  
Mais puis que Dieux le droiturer  
Suffri mort pur nous en la crois, 2295  
Ne fut passage si estrois ;  
Car home veoit gentz et chivaux,  
Qui moult y suffroient des maux,  
Trebucher parmy la montaigne.  
Là n'y avoit point de compaignie, 2300  
Li piere n'attendoit l'enfant.  
Là avoit froidure si grant

---

*How the vanguard passed through the defiles to the number of  
ten thousand horses with great suffering and hardship, and  
the forces quartered themselves in Navarre.*

SIRS, I have told you of the vanguard, and their names,  
nor were they dilatory ; but on the Monday made the  
passage, the fourteenth day of February. But since the  
time when the righteous God suffered death upon the cross  
for us, never was there passage so narrow ; for there were to  
be seen man and horse, enduring great sufferings, stumbling  
amongst the mountains. There they had no assistance,  
nor could the father help the child. So intense was

De niege et de giellée auxi,  
Que chescun estoit esbahy ;  
Mais oue la grace de Dieu 2305  
Tout passa en temps et en lieu  
Bien x. mille chivalx et pluis.  
Et les gentz qui furent des vis,  
Dedeinz Navarre se logierent ;  
Et lendemain s'apparaillerent 2310  
Toutz ceux qui estoient, sanz faille,  
Oue le Prince en sa bataille.

*Des seignours que furent oue le Prince en sa bataille et  
d'autres à la nombre de xx. mille chivalx, et coment  
ils passerent outre les portz, et le roy de Navarre les  
conduist et amena.*

O RE est bien droit que je vous nomme  
De ces nobles barons la somme,  
Tout primers li Prince et lui roy 2315  
Daun Petre, que bien nomer doy,

---

the cold the snow and the hail, that all were dismayed ;  
but by the grace of God they passed in time and together,  
about ten thousand horse and more and the survivors,  
quartered themselves in Navarre. And the next day all  
those, who were in the Prince's company, without fail,  
prepared themselves for the passage.

*Of the Lords, who were with the Prince in his company and of  
twenty thousand other horse, and how they made the passage,  
and the King of Navarre conducted and brought them.*

IT is quite right now that I tell you the sum of those noble  
Lords : first of all the Prince himself and Don Pedro

Et li roy de Navarre auxi.  
Cils trois passerent sanz detri ;  
Messire Lowys de Harcourt  
Et Eustace d'Abrichecourt, 2320  
Messire Thomas de Felton  
Et de Pauteney le baron,  
Et toutz les freres de Pomiers,  
Qui estoient nobles chivalers,  
Et puis le seigniour de Clichon 2325  
Et le bon seigniour de Curton.  
Lui sire de la Waure y fu,  
Qui ot en li moult grant vertu.  
S'i fut monsieur Robert de Knolles,  
Qui n'eust mie trop de parolles ; 2330  
Lui visconte de Rocheward  
Y fut auxi, si Dieux me gard,  
Et de Bourcier le droit seignour,  
Et maint bon chivaler d'onour,

---

whom I should name, with the King of Navarre also. These three passed without hinderance; Messire Louis de Harcourt, Sir Eustace d'Abrichecourt, Sir Thomas de Felton, the Lord de Pouteny, all the brothers of Pomiers, who were noble knights, next the Lord de Clisson, and the good Lord de Courton. The Lord de la Warre was there, a knight of great virtue. So was Sir Robert de Knolles, a man of few words; the Viscount de Rochechouart was there also, so God keep me, with the good Lord de Bouchier, and many knights of honour; the Seneschal of Aquitaine,

Et li seneschall d'Aquitayne,	2335
Qui estoit noble capitaine ;	
Cils de Paitou et d'Angomois,	
Cil de Saintonge à ceste foitz ;	
Cil de Pergos et de Cressyn,	
Qui ot le coer hardi et fyn.	2340
Et je vous nomerai encor	
Le grant seneschall de Bygor,	
(Ceux que je di furent sanz faille	
Oue le Prince en sa bataille,)	
Et d'autres très-bien quatre mille,	2345
Dount je ne vous di pas le stille ;	
Mais si Dieux m'alegge mes maus,	
Bien furent xx. mille chivalx,	
Qui toutz passerent le mardi.	
Et li roy de Navarre auxi	2350
Ovesque li Prince passa,	
Et le conduist et l'amena	

---

who was a right noble captain, him of Poitou and of Angoumois, him of Saintonge at this time, of Périgord and of Quercy, who had a heart fine and valiant. And I will name also the great Seneschal de Bigorre, (these that I have mentioned were without fail in the Prince's company,) with about four thousand others, of whom I do not give the list ; but so God deliver me from my ills, there were about twenty thousand horse who all passed on Tuesday. The King of Navarre also passed with the Prince, and conducted

Outre le passage des portz.  
Et Dieux, qui est misericors,  
Consenti qu'ils fussent passé ; 2355  
Mais moult y suffrist de durté  
A passer, c'est chose certaine,  
Lui noble Prince d'Aquitaine.

*Coment le roy de Maiogre, le counte d'Arminak et plusieurs autres vaillantz seignours et chivalers estoient en l'arere-garde, et passerent outre le pas et se logerent en la conke de Pampilon.*

**L**E merkredy, si Dieux me garde,  
Passa auxi l'arere-garde 2360  
De Maiogre lui noble roys,  
Et li vaillant counte curtoys  
D'Arminak, qui tant fut gentils,  
Berart de la Bret li hardis,

---

and brought him through the pass of the defiles. And God, who is merciful, gave his consent to the passing; but it is certain that in the passage the noble Prince of Aquitaine endured many hardships.

*How the King of Majorca, the Count d'Armagnac and many other valiant lords and knights, were in the rear guard and made the passage, and were all quartered in the cuenca of Pampeluna.*

**O**N the Wednesday, so God help me, passed also the rear guard. The noble King of Majorca and the valiant and courteous Count d'Armagnac, who was so gentle, Bernard d'Albret the hardy, with the Lord de

Et de Muscyden le seigniour, 2365  
Et d'autres chivalers d'onour,  
Dont nobles estoit li renons ;  
Et si avoit d'autres peignons :  
Monsieur Bertrukat de la Bret,  
Et auxi sachés bien du fet 2370  
Que là fut lui bourt de Berteils  
Et le bourt Camus, dont les fès  
Je ne vois pas entreublant.  
S'i fut Naudons de Baigerant,  
Bernard de la Sale et Lamy ; 2375  
Toutz ceux estoient sanz nul sy  
En l'arere-garde ordeigné.  
Et passerent pur verité  
Le mercredi outre le pas.  
Or ne vous mentiray-je pas ; 2380  
En la conque de Pampilon  
Se logea ceste gent chescun.

---

Mucidan, and other Lords of honour, whose renown was noble and so had other pennons : Sir Perdiccas d'Albret, and also in fact know that there was the bastard of Verteuil and the bastard Camus, whose deeds I am not going to forget. So was there Naudon de Bergerac, Bernard de la Salle and Lami; all these were without doubt appointed to the rear guard, and in truth made the passage upon the Wednesday. Now I will tell you no falsehood; in the cuenca of Pampeluna all these troops lodged. There



Là troverent et vin et payn,  
Tant que toutz en estoient playn.

*Coment en après passerent le sieur de la Bret et le  
capital oue ij. centz combatantz, et ly host fut contre  
ensemble, et le bastard Henri en eut nouvelles.*

E<sup>N</sup> après sanz longe demoure 2385  
De la Bret le noble seignioure  
Ovesque le noble capital,  
— Qui ot le coer pru et loial,  
Chescun a cc. combatantz  
Des gentz d'armes preus et vaillantz. 2390  
Or fut ly host toute ensemblée.  
La nouvelle en fut aportée  
A Henri le bastard d'Espagne,  
Qui estoit, li et sa compaignie,

---

they found wine and bread, so that all had enough.

*How after this passed the Lord d'Albret and the Capital with two  
hundred combatants, and how all the army was assembled,  
and the bastard Enrique had news of it.*

AFTERWARDS (passed) without much delay the noble  
Lord d'Albret, with the noble Capital, who had a  
heart preux and loyal, each with two hundred fighting men-  
at-arms, preux and valiant. Now was the army all assem-  
bled. When the news was brought to Enrique the bastard of  
Spain, who was with his army quartered at San Domingo,

A Saint-Dominique logiez. 2395  
Or ne fut pas trop esmaiez,  
Mais par le conseil qu'il avoit  
S'est avisez qu'il manderoit  
Au Prince une lettre tantostz.  
Il le fist en disant ces motz 2400

*Coment le bastard Henri envia ses lettres au Prince  
pur savoir quelle part il vouloit entrer en Espagne,  
et qu'il lui seroit au-devaunt pur ly doner la bataille.*

E<sup>N</sup> la lettre com vous orrez :  
« A très-puissant et honorez  
Et noble prince d'Aquitaine.  
Chier sire, c'est chose certaine,  
Come nous avons entendu, 2405  
Que vous et vos gentz sont venu  
Et passez par decea les portz,  
Et que vous avés fait accordz

---

he was not much dismayed ; but by the counsel that he had, he was advised to send letters to the Prince directly ; which he did in these words

*How the bastard Enrique sent his letters to the Prince to know in what part he would enter Spain, and that he would meet him to give him battle.*

I<sup>N</sup> the letter, as you shall hear : « To the all powerful and honoured and noble Prince of Aquitaine. Dear Sire, it is certain, as we have heard of you, that you and your forces have come hither, and have passed through the defiles ; and that you have made accord, and are in alliance

Et estez alliez aussi  
Ovesque le notre enemy, 2410  
Dont nous donons grant merveille.  
Je ne say qui le vous conseille ;  
Car unques rien ne vous mesfis,  
Et envers vous rien ne mespris  
Pur quoy vous nous deussez haïr 2415  
Ne que vous nous deussez tollir  
Tant poy que Dieux nous ad presté  
De terre par sa volonté ;  
Mais pur ce que nous savons bien  
Qu'il n'i ad seigniour terrien 2420  
En cest monde, ne creature,  
Qui Dieux ait donée aventure  
Tant en armes come ad à vous ;  
Et bien savons que vous et tous  
Les votres accourez sanz faille 2425  
Fors que pur avoir la bataille ;

---

moreover with him who is our enemy ; at which we have great marvel. I know not who counsels you, for I never wronged you, nor have I erred in any thing towards you, that you should hate us, or that you should take from us that little land, which God hath of his will given us ; but for that we know well, that there is no landed lord, nor creature in this world, to whom God has given such success in arms as he has done to you ; and we know well that you and all your host assemble without fail, but as to how you may come to an engagement ; I promise you

Vous promès amiablement  
Que vous nous voillez soulement  
Lesser savoir par quel partie  
Entrerez en no seigniourie, 2430  
Et vous avons en covenant  
Que nous vous serrom au-devant  
Pur vous bataille delivrer. »  
Lors fist ses lettres sealler,  
Et les tramist par son heraud, 2435  
Qui chimina sanz nul default ;  
Tant come il le Prince trova,  
Tantost les lettres lui bailla.

*Coment le Prince receut les lettres du bastard et les monstra au roy Petre et à ses barons, et ad appelé son conseil pur estre avisez de la response de meisme les lettres ; et à ceo temps monsieur Thomas de Felton demanda congé du Prince pur aler espier l'ost*

---

sincerely, that if you will only let us know on what side you purpose entering our kingdom, we will make an agreement, that we will be before you to give you battle. » Then he sealed the letters, and sent them by his herald, who travelled without hindrance, until he found the Prince, and to him directly he delivered them.

*How the Prince received the letters of the bastard and shewed them to King Pedro and his barons, and called his council to be advised of the answer to the same letters ; and at this time Sir Thomas de Felton asked leave of the Prince to go and spy*

*du bastard, et avoit congé ; et adonques s'en chivacha parmy Navarre oue certains chivalers, esquiers et archiers, et passerent la ryvere au Groyngn, et se logierent à Naveret ; et en le meisme temps le roy de Navarre fust pris par traïson, et monsieur Martyn de Lacarre fut fait gouvernour du païs de Navarre, et s'en ala counter novel au Prince de la prise du roy de Navarre, et ly supplia à garder et gouverner le païs, et le Prince graunta de luy aider. Et adonques comaunda le Prince que l'ost se deust apparailer pur departir lendemain, et lors passa l'ost le pas de Sarrys, et chimina parmy Espuske jesques à Sauveterre.*

**E**<sup>T</sup> li Prince, si Dieux m'avoie,  
Fist de la lettre moult grant joie, 2440  
Et la monstra à ses barons,  
Et lour devisa les raisons.

---

*the bastard's army ; and he had leave ; and then rode through Navarre with certain knights, squires and archers, and passed the river to Logroño, and lodged at Navarrete ; and at the same time the King of Navarre was taken by treason, and Don Martin de Lacarre was made governor of the country of Navarre, and he came to bring tidings to the Prince of the capture of the King of Navarre, and petitioned him to defend and govern the country, and the Prince agreed to assist him ; and then the Prince commanded his army to be ready to march the next day ; and then the host passed through the pass of Souraïde, and marched through Guîpuzcoa to Salvatierra.*

**T**HE Prince, so God lead me, was greatly pleased at the letter, and showed it to his barons, and talked it over

Là fut roy Petre mandez,  
Et tout le conseil appelez  
Pur la response conseiller, 2445  
Coment le purroit renvoier  
Et respondre par devers lui ;  
Mais en ce temps que je vous di,  
Monsieur Thomas de Felleton  
Au Prince demanda un doun, 2450  
Qu'il li pléust tant seulement  
De li granter primerement  
Qu'il poïst aler chivacher  
Pur aler lour host espier ;  
Et li Prince lui accorda. 2455  
Adonques Thomas appela  
Les compaignons, sachez pur voir,  
A tantz come il voillent avoir,  
Thomas d'Ufford et Felleton,  
Guilliam, qui ot coer de lyon ; 2460

---

with them. There was King Pedro sent for, and all the council summoned, to consider of the answer that in return they should sent back to him. But at this time that I tell you, Sir Thomas de Felton asked of the Prince a favour, that it might only please him to grant him first of all that he might go and spy their host ; and the Prince granted it him. Then Sir Thomas summoned his companions, know it for truth, so many as he wished to have, Thomas d'Ufford and William Felton, who had a

Hugh de Stafford et Knolles  
Y furent à curtois parolles ;  
Et là survint à l'assemblée  
Monsieur Simon de Burelée.  
Bien furent, sicom j'oÿ dire, 2465  
Oept-vintz lances sanz contredire,  
Et si furent ccc. archier.  
Lors se pristrent à chivacher  
Parmy Navarre jour et nuyt ;  
Gnydes avoient et conduyt. 2470  
A Groingn passerent la rivere,  
Dont l'eawe fut radde et fiere ;  
Et se logierent à Naveret  
Pur entendre et oïr du fait  
Coment lour host se gouvernoit. 2475  
Entrewes que là se fesoit,  
Fut li roy de Navarre pris  
Par traïson, dont esbahis

---

lion's heart, Hugh de Stafford and Knolles, were there, of courteous speech ; there came also to the meeting Sir Simon de Burleigh ; they were at least, as I have heard, eight score lances, without contradiction, and three hundred archers. Then began they their march through Navarre day and night. Guides had they and conduct. At Logroño they passed the river, of which the water was deep and rapid ; and they lodged at Navarrete, to understand and hear in fact, what the army was doing. Meanwhile the King of Navarre was taken by treason, at which the



Fut li Prince et ses consiaux.  
Ore fut governour et baus 2480  
De tout le païs de Navarre  
Monsieur Martyn de Lacarre ;  
Par le conseil de la reÿgne,  
Qui de toutz biens avoir est digne,  
Vint au Prince, si li counta 2485  
La prise ensemment qu'ele va,  
Et li supplia à garder  
Le païs et le gouverner.  
Le Prince grant mervaille en ot  
Quant il oy de mot en mot, 2490  
Et respondi de bone guyse :  
« Je sui moult dolantz de la prise.  
Or ne le puis-je pas reavoir ;  
Mais vous savez bien tout pur voir :  
Trestout le meultz que je puis faire, 2495  
C'est que me parte de sa terre.

---

Prince and his council were much astonished ; Messire Martin de Lacarre was then the governor and bailli of all the country of Navarre ; by the advice of the Queen, who is worthy of all that is good, he came to the Prince and told him of the capture as it happened, and besought him to defend and take the government of the country. Great marvel had the Prince, as he heard it word by word, and answered in good part : « I am much grieved at his being taken, nor am I able to recover him ; but you all well know that the best I can do is to go from his

Si bien m'avint, sera pur luy,  
Si Dieu plect, autant que pur moy.  
Je ne sai pluis quei conseiller. »  
Lors comande à apparailler 2500  
L'ost pur partir le grant matyn.  
Dont pria messire Martyn  
Qu'il li fesist guydes avoir ;  
Et il le fist, sachez pur voir.  
Lors passa le pas de Sarris, 2505  
Qui moult fust estroitz et petit ;  
Moult y soffri li host de payne.  
Et puis, c'est chose bien certaine,  
Parmy Espuke chimina ;  
Mais poi de vivres y trova 2510  
Pur son host tout parmy la terre,  
Tant que il vint en Sauveterre.

---

country. If good happens to me, it will be for him, if it please God, as much as for myself. I know not what more to advise. » He then commanded his troops to be ready to march early on the morrow ; and he prayed Don Martin to take care to have guides, and he did so, know for truth. He next marched through the pass of Arruiz, that was very narrow and small ; the army there suffered very much. And thereafter, as is very certain, their route lay through Guipuzcoa ; but little food did he find for his army through all the country, until he came to Salvatierra.

*Coment le Prince, oue son host, est venuz en Espagne  
et se logea ès villages près de Sauveterre, et quidoit  
avoir assailli la ville; mais se rendirent au roy  
Petre. Et illoeques sojourna le Prince vj. jours, et  
ses gentz furent à Naveret, et espioient l'ost du  
bastard, et prirent le chivaler du gaité de meisme  
l'ost, lequel fut prisoner à monsieur Simon de  
Burelée; et altres deux ou trois furent pris, queux  
lour disoient la verité del host du bastard; et eux  
en manderent novels au noble Prince.*

O R fut l'ost venuz en Espagne,  
Qui s'espandi par la champaigne.

Près de Sauveterre ès villages

2515

Se logea lui noble barnages.

---

*How the Prince, with his army, came into Spain, and lodged  
in the villages near Salvatierra, and thought to have attacked  
the town; but it surrendered to King Pedro. And there the  
Prince remained six days, and his troops were at Navarrete,  
and watched the bastard's army, and took the knight of the  
out-post of the same host, who was prisoner to Sir Simon de  
Burleigh; and two or three others were taken, who reported  
truly of the bastard's army, and they sent the tidings to the  
noble Prince.*

N ow the army had arrived in Spain, and spread them-  
selves through the country. In the villages near  
Salvatierra the noble barons were lodged; [the Prince]

La ville quidoit assaillir ;  
Mais bien sachez sanz alentir,  
Que au roy daun Petre se rendirent  
Touz auxitost que li choisirent. 2520  
Illoeques sojourna vj. jours  
Lui Prince oue païs entours,  
Et entre ce jour et ce temps  
A Naveret furent ses gents,  
Où bien souvent hors chivachoient 2525  
Et l'ost du bastard espioient,  
Tant qu'il avint que sur lour gait  
Un noet emprissent lour fait.  
Tout à chival en eux s'ofrirent  
Et le chivaler de gait prirent 2530  
Et des autres ou deux ou trois.  
Lors prist à lever lui effrois ;

---

thought to attack the town ; but know well that without delay they surrendered to King Don Pedro as soon as they saw him. There and in the neighbouring country the Prince sojourned six days. Also, at this time some of his troops who were at Navarrete, often made excursions from thence, and watched the army of the bastard. And so it was, that one night they undertook an attack on the out-posts. All on horseback they rushed upon them, and took prisoner the knight of the out-post and some two or three others. Then took place the affray ; and the knight that I speak

Et monsieur Simon de Burlée  
Fut prisoner celle journée,  
Le chivaler que je vous di. 2535  
Lors se revindrent sanz detri  
A Navaret, où se logeoient,  
Et par prisoners qu'ils avoient  
Sorent del host la verité ;  
Errant l'ont au Prince mandé. 2540

*Coment le bastard se deslogea, et si vint encontre le Prince et Thomas de Felton ; et ses compaignouns se deslogierent de Navarrete, et chivacherent devant l'ost du bastard pur espier plus justement de leur fait, et venoient devant Vitoire, et ent envoierent nouvelles au Prince ; et le Prince vint devaunt Vitoire, et le bastard auxi vint et se logea de l'autre lès de la montaigne, et le Prince est venuz sur les champs, et*

---

of was made prisoner in this fight by Sir Simon de Burleigh. Then they returned without delay to Navarrete, where they lodged; and from the prisoners whom they had, they learned the true state of their army, which they promptly sent to the Prince.

*How the bastard moved and came to meet the Prince, and Thomas de Felton and his companions moved from Navarrete and rode towards the bastard's army, to watch more correctly their proceedings, and came before Vitoria ; and they sent tidings to the Prince, and he came before Vitoria, and the bastard also came and lodged on the other side of the hill,*

*illoques trova ses chivalers et lour fist moult bone  
chiere.*

**E**T le bastard sot d'autre part  
Les nouvelles de l'autre part,  
Et dist qu'il se deslogeroit  
Et que à l'encontre lour viendrait.  
Et quant Thomas de Felleton 2545  
Le sot et tut son compaignon,  
De Navaret se deslogierent.  
Toutz jours devant l'ost chivacherent  
Pur reporter plus justement  
Les nouvelles certainement. 2550  
Tant firent des lors demorée  
Que les Espaniards sount passé ;  
Et bien avoient en memoire  
Qu'ils viendroient devant Vitoire,

---

*and the Prince came into the plain and there found his  
knights, whom he bade very welcome.*

**W**HEN the bastard, on the other hand, heard the tidings  
of his opponents, he said that he would advance and  
come to meet them. And when Sir Thomas de Felton and  
his companions heard this, they advanced from Navarrete.  
All day they rode in advance of the army to report exactly  
and with certitude the news. And so long did they tarry,  
that the Spaniards passed them ; and they recollected  
well that they would arrive before Vitoria, under the

Au lès pardeceà la montaigne. 2555  
Devant Vitoire sur la plaine  
Sire Thomas de Felleton  
Se logea et son compaignon.  
Au Prince manderent le fait  
Tout ensi qu'ils avoient fait ; 2560  
Et quant li Prince ad entendu  
La chose tout ensi qu'el fu,  
Coment le bastard vint tut droit  
A luy, qui combatre voilloit,  
Lors dist : « Si m'aide Jhesu Cris, 2565  
Moult parest cils bastard hardys.  
Aloms vers le seigniour, pur Dieu,  
Devant Vitoire prendre lieu. »  
Lendemain vint devant Vitoire.  
Là n'estoit pas véus encore 2570  
Lui bastard, ains fut sur la playne  
De l'autre lès de la mountayne.

---

the side of the hill ; there Sir Thomas de Felton, with his company quartered themselves, in the plain before Vitoria, and sent tidings to the Prince of all they had done. When the Prince had heard all the matter as it was, how the bastard came direct to him that he might fight, he said : « So help me Jesus Christ, this bastard is very bold. Let us advance, sirs, to meet him, and take our station before Vitoria. » They arrived there the next day. The bastard was not yet to be seen there, but was on the plain on the other side of the hill. When the Prince, who was right



Quant li Prince fut sur les champs,  
Qui moult estoit prus et vaillantz,  
Illoeques trova ses chivalers. 2575  
Moult les ad véu voluntiers,  
Et si lour dist : « Beus seigniours dous,  
Pluis de cent foitz bien veignez-vous. »

*Coment les coureurs du Prince couroient et reporterent  
le fait des enemis, et le Prince fist ses gentz réngier  
et ordeigner ses batailles, et fist les ordeigner pur les  
banieres exploier; et plusours seigniours et altres  
furent faitz chivalers.*

E<sup>N</sup>SEMENT, come ils devoient,  
Les coureurs par les champs couroient, 2580  
Et les coureurs des enemys  
Avoient veu, ce lour fut avis.

---

preux and valiant, arrived on the field, there he found his knights. He saw them with much pleasure and said: « Good and kind sirs, welcome more than a hundred times. »

*How the scouts of the Prince ran and reported the doings of the enemy, and the Prince drew out his forces in order of battle, and made them order the banners to be displayed; and many lords and others were made knights.*

THEN also, as they talked, the scouts ran through the fields and brought back news to the Prince that, in their opinion, they had seen the scouts of the enemy. Then was the

Adonques est li host esmeue,  
Et trestout est li host venue.  
Alarme y oïst-hom crier. 2585  
Li Prince fist ses gentz rengier  
Et ses batailles ordeignier.  
Là se pooit-hom regarder  
Ce que rien ne covient de dire ;  
Car home y pooit voir reluire 2590  
Or fyn et asure et argent  
Et goules et sable ensement,  
Synnoble et purpre et hermyne.  
Là eut mainte baniere fyne  
De soie et de sendal auxi ; 2595  
Car puis le temps que je vous dy,  
Si très-noble chose à véoir  
Ne fut, à recorder le voir.  
Là fut l'avant-garde ordeignée  
Très-noblement à cel journée. 2600

---

army put in motion, and all the host was gathered together. The cry was raised : « To arms ! » the Prince drew out his forces, in order of battle. There might a man behold what no language can express ; for there might be seen glistening fine gold, azure, and silver, gules also and sable, vert, purple and ermine. Many a fine banner of silk and also of sendal was there ; for from the time I speak of to you, never was so noble a sight ever recorded to have been seen. The vanguard was right nobly ordered on

Là véist-hom chivalers faire  
Des esquiers de noble affaire.  
Le roy daun Petre chivaler  
Fist le Prince trestut primer,  
Et Thomas de Holand après, 2605  
Qui de faire armes estoit près,  
Et puis Huon de Courtenay,  
Philippe et Peron que bien say,  
Johan Trivet, Nicolas Bonde ;  
Et li ducs, où toutz biens abonde, 2610  
Fist chivaler Raoul Cammois,  
Qui fut beaux en faitz et curtois,  
Et Gautier Ursewik auxi,  
Et puis Thomas d'Auvirmetri,  
Monsieur Johan de Grevedon. 2615  
Là eut xij. ou environ,  
Ly noble ducs et redoutez,  
Qui bien doit estre renomez.

---

this day. There might be seen esquires of noble estate made knights. The Prince made the King Don Pedro the first knight, and afterwards Thomas de Holland, who was apt at deeds of arms, and then Hugh de Courtenay, Philip and Peter I well know, John Trivet and Nicholas Bond; the Duke also, abounding in good, made Ralph Camoys a knight, who was doughty in deed and courteous, Walter Ursewick also, and then Thomas d'Abernethy, Sir John de Grevedon. About twelve in all were knighted by the noble and redoubted Duke, who rightly deserves renown.

Et bien sachez tut entresait  
Là eut maint bon chivaler fait 2620  
Dount je ne say les nouns nòmer ;  
Mais à ceo que j'oï counter,  
Ly Prince ovesque touz ses gentz  
En fist ce jour plus de deux centz.

*Coment l'ost du noble Prince fut rengie en attendant la bataille ; mais ne pleut à Dieu que les enemys venissent mye celi jour, car l'arere-garde del host dudit Prince fut derere par vij. leuges de païs ; et à vespres l'ost dudit Prince se logea, et fut criez que lendemain touz se retourneroient à ceste playne et que chescun seroit sur sa garde.*

A quoy faire vous mentiroie 2625  
Et la matiere alongeroie ?  
Rengiez furent là tout le jour  
Et prest pur attendre l'estour ;

---

Know also well besides, there was many a good knight made whose names I know not ; but this I can tell you, that the Prince and all those with him made this day more than two hundred.

*How the army of the noble Prince was drawn up in expectation of battle ; but it pleased God that the enemy should not come on this day, for the rear of the Prince's army was seven leagues behind ; and at evening the army of the Prince encamped, and it was ordered that on the next day each should return to the field and be on the alert.*

WHY should I tell you an untruth and lengthen the matter ? All the day was the army drawn

Mais ne plut pas au Filtz Marie  
Que cely jour venissent mye 2630  
Des enemys, car par seint Piere  
L'arere-garde fut derere  
Pluis de vij. leuges du païs :  
Dount lui Prince fut moult marris.  
A vespres s'alerent logier. 2635  
Adonc fist le Prince crier  
Que chescun droit en çely playn  
Retournast droit à lendemain,  
Et que chescun fut sur son garde,  
Et nul se passast l'avant-garde 2640  
Et se logeast oue sa baniere ;  
Mais par la foi que doi saint Piere,  
Monsieur Thomas de Felleton  
Et Gwilliame, son compaignon,

---

up, and waiting the enemy's attack; but it pleased not the Son of Mary that the enemy should come on this day; for, by Saint Peter, the rear was behind more than seven leagues of the country at which the Prince was sore displeased. In the dusk of the evening they went to their quarters. Then the Prince ordered to be announced that each should return the next day just on this spot, and be on the alert, nor should any pass the advanced guard, but remain with his own banner. But, by the faith I owe Saint Peter, Sir Thomas de Felton, and William, his compa-

Pluis de ij. leuges du païs  
S'ala logier, moy fut avis. 2645

*Coment le counte dan Tille, frere au bastard, demanda  
congé de chivacher pur espier et reporter le fait del  
host du Prince, lequel avoit congé; et s'en chivacha  
sur celi fait et plusours seignours et autres, à le  
nombre de vij. mille en sa compaignie.*

O RE est bien temps que je vous counte  
De dan Tille, le noble counte,  
Qui appela disant ensi  
Son frere, le bastard Henri : 2650  
« Sire, fit-il, ore m'escoutez.  
Il est bien voir, com vous savez,  
Tout de vray que notre enemy  
Sont logez assez près de cy ;

---

nion, (marched) more than two leagues of the country,  
and there posted themselves, such was my impression.

*How the count Don Tello, brother of the bastard, asked leave to  
go and watch, and report the doings of the Prince's army,  
who had leave, and rode out on this enterprize with many  
lords and others, to the number of six thousand in his company.*

NOW it is time that I tell you of the noble count Don  
Tello, who spoke to his brother Enrique the bastard :  
« Sire, said he, now hear me. It is very true as you know it is  
true that all that our enemies are encamped very near here;

Et pur y tant si vous voilliez 2655  
Et le congé vous m'en doniez,  
Le matinet chivacheray,  
Et le vray vous reporteray  
Des enemis coment ils font. »  
Ly bastard errant li respont 2660  
Que à ceo faire bien s'accordoit  
Et qu'en sa compaignie iroit  
Sancez, lequel estoit son frere ;  
Et si iroit, c'est chose clere.  
D'Odenhem le bon inareschal, 2665  
A vj. mille hommes à chival  
Seroit faite la chivachie.  
Ensi fut la chose establee.  
Monsieur Bartrem y fust alez  
De Claykyn ; mais arivez 2670  
Estoit celi jour, ce dist hom ;  
Car tout droit venoit d'Aragon.

wherefore if you wish it, and will give me permission, to morrow I will ride out and bring you back the truth of what they are doing. » The bastard straightway answered him, that he quite agreed with this proposal, and that Sancho, his brother, should accompany him. And also as is clear, the good Marshal d'Andenheim, would go, with six thousand men on horseback which would compose the expedition. So was the matter arranged. Messire Bertrand du Guesclin was to have gone, but he had on this day arrived, as they said, having come straight



Ensi fut compris lour arrès.  
Durment manacent les Englois,  
Disant que par lour grant outrage 2675  
Les feroient morir à hountage.

*Comment le counte dan Tilles, oue ses gentz, s'en est  
approchés al bost du Prince, et primerement encontra  
monsieur Hugh de Calvelée, et fist grant damage as  
Englois, et ensement fortement supprist l'avant-garde,  
si n'eust esté li noble duc de Lancastre.*

O R voille Dieux aider le droit !  
Et li Prince logiez estoit  
Devant Vitoire et environ,  
Ne avoit borde ne maison 2680  
Que tout ne fust de sa gent plaine ;  
Mais ce est bien chose certaine,

---

from Aragon. Thus was composed their array. They threatened the English sorely, saying that for their great outrage they should cause them to die with disgrace.

*How the Count Don Tello, with his forces, approached the army of the Prince, and encountered first Sir Hugh de Calverley, and caused great loss to the English, and the vanguard would have been taken by surprize, had it not been for the noble Duke of Lancaster.*

NOW, God defend the right ! The Prince was posted before Vitoria and round about, nor was there hovel nor house, that was not filled with his troops. But it is very

Le Prince ne se gardoit mie  
Lendemain de la chivachie  
Que dan Tilles li apprestoït : 2685  
Car sachez que pas ne dormoit.  
A la mynoet se leva,  
Le pluis grant chimyn chivacha  
Tut droit contremont la montaigne,  
Tant qu'il amena sa compaignie 2690  
Tut contreval une vallée.  
Primer Huon de Calvelée  
Encontra, qui se deslogeoit  
Et devers le Prince venoit.  
Ses somers et son cariage 2695  
Firent les coueurs grant damage.  
Dont monta la noise et li cris,  
Et les coueurs par les logis  
Couroient aval et amont ;  
En lour litz maintz tuez sont. 2700

---

certain, that the Prince the next day did not observe the expedition, prepared by Don Tello ; for the count did not sleep. At midnight he rose, rode a long distance, right over the hill, until he had conducted his troops into the opposite valley. First he encountered Sir Hugh de Calverley, who removed and marched towards the Prince. The light troops did much damage to his sumptors and carriages, the noise of which spread far. And the scouts ran, up and down through the camp ; many were slain in their beds. There so God

Là eust esté, si Dieux me garde,  
Forment surprise l'avant-garde,  
Si n'eust esté li francs ducs  
De Lancastre, plein de vertus ;  
Car sitost qu'il oÿ le cry, 2705  
Hors de son logement sailly  
Et prist le pas sur la montaigne.  
Là se ralia sa compaignie  
Et toutz autres que meulz meulz,  
Et si dist-hom, si m'aide Dieux, 2710  
Que Espaniardz quidoient prendre  
Celle montaigne, à voir entendre ;  
Mais au duc et à sa baniere  
S'assemblerent à lie chiere  
Toutes les banieres del hos. 2715  
Là venoient le Prince et Chaundos,  
Et là fut lui host ordeignée.  
Là véissez, sanz demorée,

---

help me, the vanguard would have been taken by surprise, had it not been for the bold Duke of Lancaster, who was full of courage ; so soon as he heard the cry, he sallied out of his lodge and took his way to the hill. There he rallied his company and very many others. It was said, so God help me, that the Spaniards thought to take this hill, the truth to understand ; but all the banners of the army rallied joyfully around the Duke and his banner. Thither came the Prince and Chandos, and there the army was drawn up. There might you see, without delay, the

Les coureurs rebatre par force ;  
Chescun de bien faire s'esforce.

2720

*Comment le grant bataille des Espaignardz chivacha, et  
encontrerent Felton et plusours chivalers et altres  
esteant sur une mountaigne, et monsieur Guillaume  
de Felton se fery entre les enemys come chivaler  
corageous, et si occist moult chivalrousement un  
Espaignard, et se combati moult vaillamment ; et  
les enemys jettoient launces et dartes, tant qu'ils  
tuerent son chival desouth ly, et au derrein le très-  
noble chivaler fut occis.*

LORS chivacha le grant bataille  
Des Espaignardz, sachez sans faille.  
Si ont encontrez Felleton  
Et messire Richard Taunton,

---

light troops beaten back ; each striving to do his utmost.

*How the great army of the Spaniards marched away, and  
encountered Felton and many knights and others, who were  
upon a hill ; and Sir William Felton rushed upon the enemy  
as a bold knight, and so killed right chivalrously a Spaniard  
and fought right valiantly ; and the enemy hurled lances and  
darts, so that they killed his horse under him, and at last  
the very noble knight was slain.*

THEN rode off the great army of the Spaniards, know  
without fail, and encountered Felton, with Sir Richard

Degory Says, Raoul de Hastyngs, 2725  
Qui la mort ne counte ij. gyngs,  
Et messire Gaillard Beguer  
Et maint bon vaillant chivaler.  
Bien estoient cent combatantz  
Ensemble, quei petitz quei grantz, 2730  
Sur une petite montaigne.  
Là allierent lour compaignie ;  
Mais monsieur Guillaumes li prus,  
Moult hardis et moult corageus,  
Se fri entre les enemys, 2735  
Come hom sans sens et sans avis,  
A chival, la lance baissie ;  
Amont, sur la targe florie,  
Un Espaignard ala ferir,  
Que tout parmy le coer sentir 2740  
Lui fist le fer trenchant d'acier.  
Jus à la terre tresbuchier

---

Taunton, Degory Says, Ralph de Hastings, who did not value death at more than two cherries ; and Sir Gaillard Beguer, with many a good knight. There were together great and small at least one hundred fighting men, who took up their station upon a small hill. But Sir William the preux, bold and full of courage, rushed amid the enemy, like a man without sense or counsel, on horseback, with lance in rest ; and struck a Spaniard on his shield-fleury with the cutting steel so as to pierce his heart. To the earth he prostrated him in sight of all the

Le fist veant tute la gent.  
Come home plein de hardiment  
Lor couroit sus l'espée traite ; 2745  
Et Castellains par lour poeste  
Lui suirent sus de tutes partz,  
Et li jettoient launces et dartz.  
Son chival ont desoubz li mort ;  
Mais à pé se defendoit fort, 2750  
Come hom qui ot coer de lion,  
Monsieur Guillaumes de Felton ;  
Mais sa defence poy vailly,  
Car mort fut : Dieux en ait mercy !

*Coment les Espaignardz, entour le nombre de vj. mille,  
assaillirent moult fortement les Englois, qui ne  
furent mye à le noumbre de c. esteaunt sur une moun-  
taine, et les Englois combatoient moult noblement ;*

---

people. He, like a man full of hardihood, then rushed upon them with his drawn sword, whilst the forces of the Castilians followed him on every side, and hurled their lances and javelins at him. His horse was killed under him ; but Sir William Felton, like a man with a lion's heart, defended himself valiantly on foot ; but little did his defence avail him, for he fell, God have mercy on him !

*How the Spaniards, to the number of about six thousand, attacked very resolutely the English, in number no more than one hundred, who were on the hill, and how the English fought*

*mais au derrein par graund force ils furent pris et  
amenez devers le bastard Henry.*

ET les autre ensemble se mirent 2755  
Sur un montaigne, qu'ils prirent.  
Là lour fesoient maint estour  
Les Espaignardz, qui sanz sojour  
Moult durement les assailoient  
Et lances et darts lour lachoient 2760  
Et fors archigais esmolluz ;  
Et cils, qui moult eurent vertus,  
Come gent de hardi corage  
Lour monstroient lour vasselage :  
Car pluis de cent foitz celi jour 2765  
S'avalèrent sanz nul sojour,  
Les glaives trenchants en lour mains,  
Et par force, soiez certains,

---

*right nobly; but at last by superior force they were taken and  
brought before the bastard Enrique.*

THE rest of the English were together upon a hill they had taken; the Spaniards there attacked them without intermission, and assailed them very fiercely; hurling at them lances and darts, and strong and sharp javelins. And these who were right valiant, like a people of hardy courage, showed then their boldness: for to day more than an hundred times they drove them down without ceasing, their sharp swords in their hands; and by force



Ils les fesoient reculer,  
Ne jà ne les poïst grever. 2770  
Et Castelain, si Dieux me garde,  
Ne pot geter launce ne darte,  
Ne féussent Frans et Breton,  
Normand, Pycard et Burguynon,  
Qui y survindrent par un val : 2775  
Et d'Audenham le mareschal  
Et monsieur Johan de Noefville,  
(Cils estoient ensemble mille,)  
Tout auxitost come ils les virent,  
Tut à pé maintenant se mirent. 2780  
Englois et Gascoins bien veoient  
Que là plus durer ne pooient ;  
Car ils n'avoient nul socours.  
Et François plus tost que le cours  
Les vindrent à pé assaillir, 2785  
Et les autres sans alentir

---

be assured did they make them recoil. Nor could the Castilians hurt them, as God is my defender, whether they hurled lance or dart ; had there not been French and Bretons, Normans, Picards and Burgundians, who came upon them by a valley. And the Marshal d'Audenhem, and Sir John de Neville, together with a thousand men, so soon as they saw them, they all immediately dismounted. The English and Gascons saw well that they could no longer hold out, for they had no succour. And the French, with great speed, advanced on foot to attack them, whilst the others without delay

Se defendoient fierement ;  
Mais ils ne furent mye cent  
Encontre pluis de vj. milliers.

. . . . .

Et là fesoient d'armes tant 2790

Que unques Olyver ne Roland  
Ne pooient pluis d'armes faire,  
Ensi com j'ay oï retraire ;  
Mais lour defense poy valut,  
Car par grant force il lour falut  
Qu'ils se rendissent prisoner.

2795

Là furent pris, à voir juger,  
Hastynge et Degory Says,  
Gaillard Beguer, qui fut parfaitz,  
Les troys freres de Felleton  
Ovesque ly Richard Taunton,  
Mitton et des autres assetz  
Dount je ne say les nouns nomez.

2800

---

defended themselves stoutly; but they were not one hundred against more than six thousand. But there such feats of arms were done by the knights, that never Oliver or Roland could have done greater deeds, as I have heard recounted. But their defence availed little, for they were forced by superior numbers to yield themselves prisoners. Then were taken, as one can judge, Hastings and Degory Says, Gaillard Beguer, who was perfect, the three brothers Felton, with Richard Taunton, Mitton, and many others, whose names I

En ce point furent ce jour pris,  
Dout moult fut li Prince marris ; 2805  
Mais il quidoit certainement  
Que tut l'enemi proprement  
Fust devalé outre le pas ;  
. . . . .  
Son host ensemble departir ; 2810  
Car il fut alez socourir  
Ses autres gentz, si ceo ne fust :  
Car moult bien faire le déüst ;  
Mais il ne fut mye ensi fait.  
Et cils que eurent fait lour fait, 2815  
Auxi tantost que hom lour counta  
Que le Prince fut près de là,  
Pluis tost qu'ils purroient se partirent  
Et à eux retourner se mirent.  
Les prisoners ovesque eux maynent, 2820  
Et moult durement les demaynent.

---

know not, in this case, were taken on this day, at which the Prince was greatly grieved. But he thought certainly, that all the enemy's army would naturally have passed below beyond the pass... and he would not divide his army otherwise he would have gone to aid his other forces, if this had not been so : for much it behoved him to help them ; but nothing of the kind was done. And they who had performed this feat, so soon as they were told that the Prince was at hand, departed with all speed, and hastened their return. Their prisoners they took with them, and treated them very hardly.

*Coment le bastard fist grant joie de la revenue du  
counte dan Tilles et des autres, et de la prise des  
Englois, et fortement manacea le Prince et ses gentz;  
et coment il fut conseillex au bastard pur destruire  
les Englois, et le Prince oue ses gentz fut devaunt  
Vitoire tout dis en attendaunt la bataille.*

Au retourner lour fist grant joie  
Le bastard Henri, si Dieux m'avoye ;  
Et lour dist : « Bien soiez venuz,  
Beaux seigniours, bien vous sui tenuz. » 2825  
Et puis disoit par motz exprès :  
« Toutz les autres viendront après.  
Mal quide ma terre tollir  
Le Prince et moy quide assaillir :  
Pourrytant li feray savoir 2830  
Que grant covetise d'avoir

---

*How the bastard rejoiced greatly at the return of the count don  
Tello and the rest, and at the capture of the English, and  
threatened the Prince and his people ; and how the bastard  
was advised to destroy the English, and the Prince with his  
troops lay before Vitoria all that time expecting an engagement.*

At their return, so God help me, the bastard Enrique  
made great rejoicing, and said to them: « Right welcome  
good Sirs, be ye well preserved ; » and then said in plain  
words: « All the rest will come afterwards. The Prince thinks  
wrongly to take away my land and attack me : therefore I  
will let him know that great desire of gain has made him

Li ad fait cest voiage enprendre.  
Qui prisoner le purroit prendre,  
Tant li donroie argent et or  
Que faire en purroit un tresor. » 2835  
Quant li mareschal l'entendi,  
Moult doucement li dist ensi :  
« Sire, dist-il, quei dites-vous ?  
Encore n'avez-vous pas toutz  
Les bons chivalers desconfitz ; 2840  
Mais bien soiez certains et fis,  
Quant à ceux vous combateretz,  
Que gentz d'armes les troveretz.  
Mais si bon conseil voillez croire,  
Vous le purrez, c'est chose voire, 2845  
Bien desconfire sanz coup frir :  
Si vous voillez faire tenir  
Le pas où ils doivent passer,  
Et bien votre host faire garder,

---

take this voyage. I would give to him who might take him prisoner, so much silver and gold as to form a great treasure.» When the Marshal heard this, he answered very mildly : « Sire, said he, what say you ? You have not yet vanquished all these good knights ; but be well assured and confident that when you shall fight with them, you shall find them to be men-at-arms. But if you will be well advised, you may perceive how you may gain the victory without a blow : if you will only seize on the pass through which they must march, and bid your army keep it well, so shall you have

Si ne lour facez ja bataille ; 2850  
Par grande faute de vitaille  
Les verrez d'Espagne partir,  
Ou de faym les verrez morir. »  
Ensi fut conseillez li roys  
Bastard du conseil des François. 2855  
Et li Prince devant Vitoire  
Fut rengiez sur les champs encore,  
Qui tut dis illoeque attendoit  
Si le bastard descenderoit,  
Ses batailles toutes rengies 2890  
Et ses banieres desploïes.  
Sur les champs soi logea la nuyt.  
Là n'avoient pas grant deduit ;  
Car maint y ot, par saint Martyn,  
Qui n'avoient ne pain ne vin. 2895  
Pas ne fut trop bons li sojour,  
Car sovent y avoit estour,

---

no battle ; from great want of provisions you shall see him quit Spain, or his army die of famine. » Thus was the bastard king counselled by the French, and the Prince was still drawn up on the plains before Vitoria, his line of battle ready formed and his banners displayed there waiting all the time, to see if the bastard would come down. On the field they encamped at night. Little entertainment had they, for many were there, by St. Martin, who had neither bread nor wine. Not very easy was their stay, for often were there attacks, and skirmishings made by the

Escarmuches de geneteurs,  
Et des Englois y ot plusours  
Et des uns et des autres mortz. 2900  
Moult parfut le temps lays et ors  
Et de pluie et de vent auxi.  
Seignieur, cel temps que je vous dy,

*Du temps quant ces choses par-devant escriptes furent  
faites, et coment le Prince se deslogea et chimina  
parmy Navarre, et passa le pas de la Garde, et vint  
à Viane et illoques se logea, et après ce passa le pont  
del Groyng, et se logea devant le Groyng ès ver-  
giers, et le bastard retourna de Saint-Vincent et se  
logea sur la ryvere devaunt Naddres, et le Prince  
tramist audit bastard une lettir.*

✓ ( C E fut en Mars, n'en doutez mye,  
Que sovent pluit, vente et nivie, 2905

---

lancers; and many of the English of one party or the other died. The weather was very nasty and dirty with much wind and rain, Sirs, at the time that I tell you of.

*Of the time when the things above written happened, and how the Prince removed and marched through Navarre, and passed the passage of La Guardia and came to Viana, where he stayed, and afterwards passed the bridge of Logroño and encamped before Logroño in the orchards, and the bastard returned from San Vicente and encamped on the river before Najera, and the Prince sent to the bastard a letter.*

I T was in March, doubt not, when often it rains, blows and snows; never was there a worse season; and the



Unques ne fut plus malvais temps;  
Et le Prince fut sur les champs,  
Où moult falloit soeffrir des malx  
Pur gentz d'armes et pur chivalx.  
Et le lundi se dislogea 2910  
Le Prince et s'achimina,  
Parmy Navarre est retournez,  
Un pas passa qui apellez  
Fut par noun le *pas de la Garde*.  
Tant chimina, si Dieux me garde, 2915  
Qu'à Viane logier se vint.  
Et après ce moult tost avint  
Qu'il passa le pont de le Groyng.  
Li Prince, qui moult ad grant soyng,  
Et desires de la bataille, 2920  
Celi jour se logea sanz faille  
Devant le Groyng eins ès vergiers  
Et par-desoubz les olyviers.

---

Prince was on the field, where he had to suffer greatly, both for his men-at-arms and his horses. And on Monday the Prince moved his quarters, and marched and returned through a pass that was called the pass of La Guardia. So far did he march, so God help me, that he came to Viana. And afterwards very soon it happened that he passed the bridge of Logroño. The Prince, who has a very great care and desire of battle, encamped on this day without fail before Logroño within the orchards and underneath the olive trees. And the bastard king by his

Et le roy bastard par espie  
Sciet que l'ost du Prince est logie 2925  
Devant le Groyng eins ès gardyns.  
Lors n'aresta soirs ne matins,  
De Saint-Vincent retourne arere,  
Et se logea sur la rivere  
Desoubz Naddres en une vynoble. 2930  
Bel host avoit, puissant et noble.  
Li Prince adonques li tramist  
Une lettre, qui ensi dist.

*Coment le Prince tramist au bastard ses lettres respon-  
sales sur la tenure cy-ensuant.*

« **T**RÈS-puissant et très-honurez  
Henry, le quel yestes clamez 2935  
Duc de Tristemare, autrement  
S'appelle pur le temps present

---

spies knew that the Prince was encamped before Logroño in the gardens; then he stopped neither night nor day, but returned from San Vicente, and encamped on the river below Najera in a vineyard. He had a noble and powerful host. The Prince then sent him a letter, which was couched in this manner.

*How the Prince sent an answer to the bastard's letter, of the following tenor.*

« **R**IGHT puissant and right honored Enrique, who art called Duke de Transtamare, and also calls himself

En ses lettres roy de Castielle.  
Bien avons oy la nouvelle  
De voz nobles lettres presentes, 2940  
Qui sount graciosuses et gentes,  
Desqueux le tenour est pur voir  
Que voluntiers vouldriez savoir  
Purquoi nous sumes alliés  
Et de notre foy fiancés 2945  
Ovesque le votre enymy,  
Quel nous teignons pur notre amy.  
Sachez que nous le devons faire  
Pour les alliances parfaire  
Queux ont esté du temps passé, 2950  
Et pur amour et pur pité,  
Et pur droiture sustenir ;  
Car vous deveriez bien sentir  
En votre coer que n'est pas droitz  
Qu'un bastard déust estre roys 2955

---

for the time present in his letters King of Castile. We have well heard the contents of your noble letters present, that are both gracious and gentle, of which the tenor is for truth, that you would willingly know why we are in alliance and have pledged our faith with your enemy, whom we hold for our friend. Know that we ought to do this to uphold the old alliances which have been in time past, and for love and for pity and to maintain the right; for you ought to understand in your heart that it is not right that a bastard should be king; nor should men agree to the

Pur un droit heir desheriter.  
Nul hom ne se doit accorder  
Qui soit de loial mariage.  
D'un autre point vous faisons sage,  
Que pur ce que hom vous prise tant 2960  
Et que hom vous tient pur si vaillant,  
S'accorder ambedeux purroie,  
Moult voluntiers m'employeroye  
Et feroie tant de ma part  
Qu'en Castille averez grant part ; 2965  
Mais raison et droit si se donne  
Que lesser vous faut la corone,  
Et ensi se purroit nurrir  
Bon paix entre vous, sanz mentir.  
Et quant del entrée en Espagne, 2970  
Sachez que moy et ma compaigne,

---

disenheriting a rightful heir, who is of lawful wedlock. Let me advise you on another point, since that you are so highly esteemed, and held to be so valiant, that you should on each side come to terms, to which I would willingly lend assistance, and would agree for my part, that in Castile you shall have a great share ; but reason and justice demand that you give up the crown, thus might there be truly fostered a good peace between you. But as to my entering into Spain, know that myself and my company, will,

Ovesque l'aïde de Dieu,  
Y entrerons par lequel lieu  
Que nous y plerra à entrer,  
Sanz nule congé demander. »

2975

*Comment un heraud porta les lettres du Prince et les  
presenta au bastard, et le bastard sur ce demanda  
son conseil, et chescun en disoit son avis, et sur ce  
firent lour ordinance encontre le Prince.*

ENSI fut la lettre dictée,  
Et puis après fut seallée ;  
Et la bailla à un heraud,  
Qui ot le coer joiant et baud,  
Et moult demenoit grantz reveaux :  
Car hom li dona beaux joiaux,  
Robes d'ermyn, manteaux furrez.  
Et lors ne s'est pluis arrestez,

2980

---

by the help of God, enter just in that place that it shall  
please us to enter, without asking any leave. »

*How a herald bore the Prince's letters, and presented them to  
the bastard, and the bastard called his council, and each gave  
his advice, and on this made their decision against the Prince.*

THUS was the letter worded, and afterwards sealed, and  
they gave it to a herald, who had a heart joyous and  
light, and exulted much: for men had given him beautiful  
jewels, robes of ermine and mantles of fur. Then he stayed

Congié prist et s'en departi.  
Vers son maistre le roy Henri 2985  
Vint et la lettre li dona.  
Le bastard, quant la regarda  
Et aperceut la volonté  
Que le Prince li ad mandé,  
Bien sciet que moult ot de vaillance ; 2990  
Et sanz plus faire demorance,  
Appela son conseil ensemble  
Et demanda : « Quei vous en semble  
De tout ce conseil bon à faire ? »  
Chescun en disoit son affaire. 2995  
Messire Bartrem de Claykyn,  
Qui ot le coer hardi et fin,  
Li dit : « Seignieur, ne vous doutez,  
Car temprement combaterez ;  
Mais cognoissez le grant pooir 3000  
Que li Prince mayne, pur voir.

---

no longer, but took his leave and departed. He came to his master King Enrique, and gave the letters. When the bastard had looked into them, and had perceived what was the Prince's will, he knew that he was a valiant man; and without making further delay, he called his council together, and demanded of them all : « What appears to you the best to do ? » Each said as he thought. Messire Bertrand du Guesclin, who had a fine and noble heart, said : « Sire, do not doubt but that you shall shortly have to fight ; but remember the great army that the Prince

Là est flour de chivalerie,  
Là est flour de bachelerie,  
Là sont les meillours combatantz  
Qui soient en monde vivantz, 3005  
Si que vous avez bien mestier  
Que vous facez apparailler  
Voz gentz et mettre en ordinance. »  
— « Daun Bartrem, ne aiez dotance,  
Respondi li bastard Henris; 3010  
Car j'aurai, et j'en suis tut fis,  
Bien iiij. mil chivalx armez,  
Qui seront sur les deux costez  
Des deux eles de ma bataille;  
Et si verrez, sachez sans faille, 3015  
Bien quatre mille genetours;  
Et des gentz d'armes, des meillours  
Que hom poet trover par tute Espaigne,  
Auray deux mille en ma compaigne.

---

brings for truth. There is the flower of chivalry, there is the flower of bachelry, there are the best men-at-arms that are in the world alive, so that you have good need to draw out your forces and get them ready for action. » — « Messire Bertrand, have no fear, answered the bastard Enrique; for I shall have, I am thoroughly confident, more than four thousand horse, who shall be on the two sides of the two wings of my division, and so shall you see, know without fail, more than four thousand lancers; and of men-at-arms, better can no man find in all Spain, I shall have two thousand in my company; and



Et si puis-je avoir, si sachés, 3020  
 Cinquante mille homes à pez  
 Et des arblastiers vj. mille.  
 Entreci jesques à Seville,  
 Ne demoere franc ne villayn;  
 Touz sont de moi aider certayn, 3025  
 Et si me ont promis par lour foi  
 Que touz jours me tiendront pur roy,  
 Si que je n'ay mie paour  
 Que je n'en aye le meillour. »  
 Ensi deviserent la nuit  
 En grant joie et en grant deduit. 3030

*Coment le Prince se deslogea devant le Groign une  
 matinée, et oue ses gentz rengiez cel jour chivacha deux  
 leuges, et quidoit bien celui jour avoir la bataille, et  
 envioia ses coureurs pur reporter la verité del host*

---

know also that I shall muster fifty thousand infantry with  
 six thousand cross bowmen. From here to Seville, there are  
 neither free nor villain, but will be sure to assist us;  
 for so have they faithfully promised that they will always  
 hold me as their king. Thus I have no fear but that I  
 shall have the best of it. » After that they passed the night  
 with much joy and cheerfulness.

*How the Prince decamped from before Logroño one morning, and  
 with his men drawn up marched two leagues, thinking that  
 this day he should have to fight; and how he sent his scouts  
 to bring him true word of the bastard's army, that was*

*du bastard Henry, qui fut logie à Naveret, et les  
deux hostes, adonques deux leuges d'ensemble.*

ET lui Prince n'aresta mye ;  
Lendemain à l'aube esclarcie  
De devant le Groign deslogiez  
S'est, que rien n'est atargiez.  
En droit bataille ordeignée 3035  
Chivacha celle matinée,  
Et rengist si jollement  
Que unques ne vist si noble gent  
Nul hom puis que Jhesu nasqui.  
Celi jour fut le vendredi. 3040  
Deux leuges chivacha cel jour  
Le prince sanz prendre sojour,  
Et bien quidoit, sachez pur voir,  
Celi jour la bataille avoir.

---

*encamped at Navarrete, and the two armies were two leagues  
apart.*

AND the Prince tarried not, but at the next earliest dawn he decamped from before Logroño : so that nothing was delayed. All in battle array he marched on this morning, and so excellent was their order, that never since Jesus' birth had men seen so fine an army. This day was Friday. Two leagues did the Prince ride this day without encamping, and thought, know for truth, that this was to be the day of battle. His scouts he sent out

Ses coureurs envoia partout, 3045  
Lesqueux se travaillerent moult  
Pur la verité reporter;  
Mais au verité recorder,  
De l'autre host virent la couvine,  
Et perceurent qu'en ce termine 3050  
Fut logiez desur la rivere  
Près de Naddres en la bruere,  
En les vergiers et en les champs.  
Moult parestoit lour host puissantz,  
Et de rien semblant ne fesoient 3055  
Que cel jour chivachier devoient.  
Au Prince erraument reporterent  
De l'ost ensi qu'ils le troverent,  
Qui se logea à Naveret,  
Là où homme tout entreset 3060  
L'ordonnance de la bataille.  
Or furent si, sachez sanz faille,

---

everywhere, who exerted themselves much to bring him back the truth; but to make a true report, they saw the plan of the other army, and perceived that at this moment they were encamped upon the river near Najera on the heath, amongst orchards and in the fields; their army was very strong, nor did they make any show as if they would march on this day. To the Prince they straight reported of the host as they had found them, encamped before Navarrete, where they descried all the order of battle. Now were, know for certainty, the armies quartered,

A deux leuges près d'ensemble  
Les hostz logiez, come moi semble.  
Cele noct chescun sur son garde 3065  
Estoit et de li se prent garde,  
Et si coucherent tout armé.  
Et devant qu'il fust adjourné,  
Tramist le roi Henri espies  
Vers Englois en plusours parties 3070  
Pur savoir lour deslogement ;  
Mais, si lui estoire ne ment,  
A plus matin se deslogierent  
Et à chivachier chiminèrent.  
Mais le Prince oue le coer fin 3075  
N'ala pas le plus droit chemyn,  
Ançois prist, sachez de certayn,  
Le chemin à la droite main,  
Une montaigne et un grant val  
Avalerent tout à chival 3080

---

as it seems to me, at a distance of two leagues apart ; on this night each was on his guard, and took the greatest care, and so all the army passed the night. But before it was daybreak, King Enrique had sent scouts towards the English in many parties, to find out their removal ; but, if my account lies not, very early they decamped and commenced their march. But the Prince with a fine judgment did not march by the direct road, but took, as is certain, the road to the right hand over a hill, and descended a deep valley ; all were on horseback, so nobly appointed and so

Si très-noblement ordeignée  
Et si coyntement serrée,  
Que merveillouse fut à véir.  
Et li bastard, sanz alentir,  
Avoit très à la myenoit 3085  
Ordeigné sa bataille et droit.  
A pé estoit monsieur Bartrans  
Et li bon mareschal vaillantz  
D'Odreham, qui tant fut gentils,  
Et li countes Sanses de pris, 3090  
Lui counte de Dene ensement,  
Qui d'Aragon fut proprement.  
Si fut li Beghes de Villaine,  
Qui estoit un moult bon chieftaine,  
Monsieur Johan de Noefville 3095  
Et d'autres plus de iiij. mille,  
Dont je ne say nomer les nouns :  
Quei d'Espaigne, quei d'Aragons,

---

neatly compact, that it was marvellous to see. The bastard too without delay had at very midnight, drawn out his army in array. And Messire Bertrand was afoot, and the good and valiant Marshal d'Audrehem, who was so gentle, the noble Count Sancho, and the Count de Denia also, who was just from Arragon. So was the Begue de Villaine, who was a good leader, Messire Jean de Neuville, and more than four thousand others, whose names I know not : some from Spain and Arragon, from France and

Quei de France et de Picardie,  
 De Britayne et de Normandie, 3100  
 De moultz d'autrez païs lointain.  
 Puis fut à la senestre main  
 A chival le conte dan Tille,  
 Qui avoit plus de xij. mille  
 Geneteurs, hommes à chival. 3105  
 Au destre lès fut le roial

*De la grande bataille du bastard, qu'avoit ovesque lui  
 xv. mille hommes d'armes et grant nombre des arblas-  
 ters, et des chivalx armez iiij. mille et cent ; et le  
 priour de Saint-Johan-le-Baptistre et le maistre de  
 Saint-Jakes estoient en sa bataille.*

A u roy bastard, que hom dist *Henri*,  
 Lequel avoit ovesque lui  
 Bien xv. mille hommes armez  
 Et des gents du païs assetz, 3110

Picardy, from Brittany and Normandy, and other distant parts. There then was on the left wing, on horseback, the Count Don Tello, who had more than twelve thousand mounted Spanish light horse. On the right side was the royal banner

*Of the great army of the bastard, who had with him fifteen thousand men-at-arms, a great number of cross-bowmen and four thousand one hundred horse; and the prior of San Juan Bautista and the master of Santiago were in his army.*

OF the bastard King, whom they called *Enrique*; he had with him more than fifteen thousand men-at-arms, with

Arblastiers, villayns et servantz,  
A lances et à darts trenchantz  
Et à fondes pur getter pieres  
Pur garder devant les frontieres.  
Unques tel merveille ne fu, 3115  
Ne tiel plenté de poeple vu  
Come il ot à cele journée.  
Là ot mainte baniere ouvrée  
Qui fu de cendal et de soye.  
Si le corps Jhesu-Crist m'avoye, 3120  
Un petit et sur le costé  
Estoient li chival armé  
A nombre de iiij. mille et cents.  
Un chivaler de moult grant sens  
Les gouvernoit (moult fut subtils, 3125  
Appelé fut *Gomez Garils*),  
Et le priour de Saint-Johan,  
Qui disoit qu'il feroit ahan

---

many people of the country, cross-bowmen, villains, servants, with lances and sharp darts, and slings to throw stones and to the cover their front. Never was such a marvellous sight, never so many people seen, as were engaged in this day's fight. Many were the banners worked, both of cendal and of silk. So help me Jesus Christ, a little towards one wing were the armed horses, to the number of four thousand one hundred. A knight of great sense and very clever commanded them (*Gomez Carillo* was his name), and the prior of San Juan, who said that he would cause the English



Englois soffrir celle journée.  
Et là estoit sanz demorée 3130  
Le maistre de Saint-Jacque auxi  
Et un bon chivaler hardi,  
Maistre de Calletrave ot noun.  
Il disoit à haute raisoun  
Que celi jour tant y ferroit 3135  
Que la bataille perceroit.

*Coment le Prince descendi de la mountaigne, et monsieur  
Johan Chaundos adonques fut mis à baniere : dount  
ses compaignons fesoient grant joie, et eux baillerent  
de combatre.*

O<sup>R</sup> fut la chose devisée  
Et tut lour host est ordeignée,  
Et le Prince voet sanz attendre  
Jus de la montaigne descendre. 3140

---

to suffer on this day. And there was ready at his post the master of Santiago also, and a good and hardy knight (the master of Calatrava was his name), who said in high terms, that this day he would strike so hard, that he would pierce the enemy's line.

*How the Prince came down from the hill, and Sir John Chandos then was created a banneret, at which his company greatly rejoiced, and were eager for the fight.*

N<sup>O</sup>w were all things arranged and all the army drawn up; and the Prince wished without delay to come

Quant l'un host l'autre apercevoit,  
Chescun sciet bien qu'il n'y avoit  
Fors de combatre tout certain;  
Nulle ne attendroit demain.  
Monsieur Johan de Chaundos 3145  
Est venuz au Prince tantos,  
Et là porta sa baniere,  
Qui fut de soie riche et chiere.  
Moult doucement lui dist ensy :  
« Sire, fait-il, pur Dieu mercy, 3150  
Servi vous ay de temps passé;  
Et tut ce que Dieux m'ad doné  
De biens, ils me veignent de vous.  
Et bien savez que je sui touz  
Le votre, et je seray tout temps; 3155  
Et s'il vous semble lieu et temps,

---

down from the hill. When one army perceives the other, each well knows that there was nothing for him but certainly to fight; no one would wait till the morrow. Then Sir John Chandos came forthwith to the Prince, and there brought his banner, that was of silk, rich and costly. And said right gently : « Sire, says he, so God have mercy, I have served you in time past; and all the good, that God has given me, has reached me through you; and you well know that I am entirely yours and always shall be; and if the place and time suit you, that I might be a banneret,

Et par vitailles sumes pris,  
Et vez-ci là noz enemys  
Qui de vitailles ont assetz,  
Pain et vin et pissons salés 3190  
Et frès, de douce eawe et de mer ;  
Mais il les nous faut conquerer  
Au ferir de glayve et d'espée.  
Or faceons tant ceste journée  
Que partir puissons à honour. » 3195  
Adonc le Prince de valour  
Devers le ciel joingnit ses mains,  
Et dist : « Vray Piere soverayns,  
Qui nous avez fait et creez,  
Si vrayment come vous savez 3200  
Que je ne sui pas cy venuz  
Fors pur droit estre soutenuz  
Et proesce et pur franchise,  
Qui mon coer semont et attise

---

in famine, for want of food we are well nigh taken. And see here and there our enemies, who have food enough, bread and wine and fish, salt and fresh, from the river and the sea; but those we must now obtain by the dint of sword and spear. Now let us do such a day's work, that we may separate with honour. » Then the Prince of valour joined his hands towards heaven, and said : « O very Sovereign Father, who hast made and fashioned us, so truly as you know that I am not come hither but to defend the right, for prowess and for liberty, that my heart craves

De conquister vie de honour, 3205  
Je vous supplie qu'en cest jour  
Voilliez garder moy et ma gent. »  
Et quant le Prince ou le corps gent  
Eut vers Dieu faite sa priere,  
Adonc ad dit : « Avant, baniere ! 3210  
Dieux nous aïde à notre droit ! »  
Et lors le Prince là endroit  
Le roy daun Petre par la main  
Ad pris, et lui dist pur certain :  
« Sire roy, au-jour-de-huit saurez 3215  
Si jamès Castille rauretz.  
Aiez en Dieu ferme creance. »  
Ensement disoit sanz doutance  
Ly Prince au coer sufficient,  
Et l'avant-garde va devant. 3220

---

and burns to obtain a life of honour, I pray you that on this day you will guard myself and my people. » And when the Prince had made his prayer to God, then he said : « Advance, banner ! God defend our right ! » Then the Prince straightway took King Don Pedro by the hand, and said to him : « Certainly, Sire King, to day you shall know if ever you shall recover Castile. Have thou firm trust in God, » added the Prince, with a noble heart, nothing doubting; and the vanguard moved forward.

*Coment le duc de Lancastre et monsieur Johan Chaundos  
passerent en l'avant-garde, et là furent fait chivalers,  
et le duc conforta très-noblement ses gentz.*

**D**E Lancastre li noble ducs,  
Qui moult eut en lui de vertus,  
Et Chaundos, le bon chivaler,  
Fist là chivalers sanz targer  
Curson, Priour et Elitoun, 3225  
Monsieur Guilliam de Faryndon  
Et Ammori de Rocheward,  
Cely de la Mote, Gaillard,  
Et monsieur Robert Briket.  
Là eut-il maint chivaler fet, 3230  
Qui furent plain de vasselage,  
De noble et de puissant linage.  
Li duc de Lancastre einz le champ  
Dist à Guillaume de Beauchamp :

---

*How the Duke of Lancaster and Sir John Chandos accompanied  
the vanguard, and there were made knights, and the Duke  
encouraged his troops.*

**T**HE noble Duke of Lancaster, who had many virtues,  
and the good knight Chandos made knights without  
delay Curson, Priour, and Eliton, and Sir William de  
Faringdon, with Aymery de Rochechouart, and Gaillard  
de la Motte, and Sir Robert Briquet. Many knights were  
then made, who were full of courage, of noble and puissant  
lineage. The Duke of Lancaster in the field said to William

« Veiez, fist-il, noz enemys ; 3235  
Mais, si m'aïde Jesus-Cris,  
Huy me verrez bon chivaler,  
Si mort ne me fait encombrer. »  
Puis dist : « Baniere, avant, avant !  
Preignons dampne-Dieu à garant, 3240  
Et face chescun son honour. »  
Et lors li francs ducs de valour  
Devant toutz ses hommes se mist ;  
Plus de cent revenir en fist  
De lour corages plus hardis 3245  
Que devant furent, ce m'est vis.  
En celle heure fist chivaler  
Li duc Johan d'Ipre au coer fier.

*Du commencement de la grant bataille, et des seigniours  
qui furent à la bataille oue le duc de Lancastre, et*

---

Beauchamp : « See there, said he, our enemies; but, so help me Jesus Christ, to day you shall see me a good knight, if death prevent me not. » Then he cried : « Banner, advance, advance ! Let us take God to our rescue, and each do to his honour. » And then the noble Duke of valour put himself at the head of all his men; more than a hundred did he cause to become of higher courage than ever they were before, as I am aware. In this hour did the Duke make John of Ipre of high courage a knight.

*Of the beginning of the great battle, and of the lords who were  
there with the Duke of Lancaster, and of their meeting with the*

*de l'assemblée à la bataille de monsieur Bertram, et  
coment maint bon cbivaler fut tresbuché à terre.*

OR commence bataille fier,  
Et prist à lever le poudrer. 3250

Archiers traient à la volée,  
Plus dru que plume n'est volée.

Li ducz de Lancastre devant  
S'en va come homme vaillant.

Après li va Thomas de Ufford 3255

Et Hugh de Hastynges fort,  
Chescun baniere desploïe.

Chescun tenoit launce basie.

Sur la main destre fut Chaundos,

Qui celi jour acquist grant los ; 3260

Estephenes de Cossyngtone,

Johan Devereux, noble persone ;

---

*army of Messire Bertrand, and how many good knights  
were slain.*

NOW commenced the battle fiercely, and the dust began  
to rise. Archers made their arrows fly in clouds  
thicker than feather had ever flown. The Duke of  
Lancaster in advance bore himself like a valiant man.  
After him came Thomas de Ufford and the brave Hugh  
de Hastings, each displaying his banner. Each held his  
lance in rest. On the right hand was Chandos, who this  
day acquired great praise ; with Stephen de Cosington, Sir  
John Devereux, a noble man ; and there was the good



Et là fut li bon Guychard d'Angle,  
Qui ne se tenoit pas en l'angle.  
Ovesque li ot ses deux filtz 3265  
Et d'autres chivalers de pris,  
Qui bien fesoient lour devoir ;  
Et là estoit, sachez de voir,  
Li très-noble sires de Rès.  
Là véist-hom venir tout près, 3270  
Après banieres et peignons,  
Ensemble touz les compaignons.  
Chescun tint la lance en pugnïe,  
Et fesoient grant envaïe  
Pur courre sur lour enemys. 3275  
Et les archiers traioient toutdiz  
Et arbalastiers d'autre part,  
Qui furent oue le bastard ;  
Mais tout à pé tant chiminerent  
Que tout ensemble s'encontrerent 3280

---

Guichard d'Angle, who kept not in the back ground. His two sons he had with him ; other knights of renown were there who well did there duty ; and there was also, know for truth, the right noble Lord de Raix. There might one see following closely the banners and pennons, all the great Companies, every one holding his lance in his grasp ; and struggling to the utmost to fall upon the enemy. And all the time the archers, and cross-bowmen on the other side who were with the bastard shot their arrows ; but all on foot they marched on, until they encountered the division of Bertrand, who

A la bataille de Bertran,  
Qui moult lour fist soeffrir ahan.  
Là véissez à l'assembler  
Ensemble de glayves bouter.  
Chescun de bien faire se payne. 3285  
Là ne fut, c'est chose certayne,  
Nul coer eu monde si hardis  
Que ne puist en estre esbahis  
Pur les grantz coups qu'ils se donoient  
Des grandes haches qu'ils portoient 3290  
Et des espées et cotiaux.  
Ce ne fut mie grantz reviaux,  
Car vous véissez tresbucher  
A terre maint bon chivaler.

*Coment mainte baniere fut versée à terre, et monsieur  
Johan Chandos fut abatus à terre, et un Castillayn  
fut cheuz sur ly et lui plaia ; mais par la grace de*

---

caused them to suffer much. There then at the encounter might you see swords thrust and crossed, each striving to acquit himself well. Never, in good sooth, was there in the world a heart that would not have been staggered by the heavy blows that were struck by the great axes they carried and by the swords and knives. This was no great disport, for many a good knight might there be seen cast to the earth.

*How many a banner was cast down, and Sir John Chandos was struck to the ground, and a Castilian fell on him and wounded him ; but by the grace of God he recovered himself and slew*

*Dieu il recoveri et occist le Castellayn, et après ceo  
refiert en la mellée et combati moult fortment.*

<b>G</b> RANT fut la noise et la fumiere.	3295
Là n'y ot peignon ne baniere	
Qui ne fust à terre versée ;	
Tiele foitz fut celle journée.	
Chaundos fut à terre abatuz.	
Par desus li estoit chéuz	3300
Un Castellain, qui moult fut grantz ;	
Appelez fut <i>Martins Ferantz</i> ,	
Lequel durement se paynoit	
Coment occire le purroit,	
Et li plaia par la visiere.	3305
Chaundos à très-hardie chiere	
Un cotel prist à son costé,	
Le Castellain en ad frappé,	
Qu'en son corps lui ad embatu	
Par force le cotel agu.	3310

---

*the Castilian, and after that he was again in the action and  
fought right strongly.*

**G**REAT was the noise and the dust. There was not a pennon nor a banner that was not thrown to the ground; such was this fight. Chandos was beaten down, and there fell upon him a Castilian of great stature, *Martin Fernandez* by name, who struggled hard how he might kill him, and wounded him through the visor. Chandos right boldly took a knife at his side, struck the Castilian, and plunged the sharp knife into his body. The Castilian fell down

Le Castillain mort s'estendi.  
Et Chaundos sur ses pès sailli ;  
Entre ses poings ad pris l'espée  
Et se refiert en la mellée,  
Qui moult estoit dure et cremeuse  
Et au regarder merveilleuse.  
Cil qui de ly estoit atayns,  
De la mort peust estre certains.

3315

*Coment le duc de Lancastre très-chivalerousement  
combatoit, et se mist en très-graunt aventure.*

ET d'autre part, li noble ducz  
De Lancastre, plein de vertuz,  
Si noblement se combatoit,  
Que chescun s'en esmerveilleoit  
En regardant sa grant prouesce,  
Coment par sa noble hautesse

3320

---

dead. And Chandos leaped upon his feet, grasped his sword in both hands, and was again in the battle, that was right hard and fearful and wonderful to behold ; and he that was struck by him might be certain of his death.

*How the Duke of Lancaster fought right valiantly, and exposed himself to very great danger.*

ON the other hand, the noble Duke of Lancaster, full of virtue, fought so nobly, that all marvelled in beholding his great prowess, how in his high daring he

Mettoit son corps en aventure : 3325  
Car jeo croy que unques creature,  
Poevre ne riches, ne se mist  
Cel jour si avant come il fist.  
Et ly Prince n'attendoit pas ;  
A l'estour plus tost que le pas 3330  
S'en venoit, si sachez sanz faille,  
Du lès destre de sa bataille.

*Coment la baniere au roy de Navarre et monsieur  
Martin de Lacarre se partirent oue le Captal oue ij.  
mille combatauntz pur combatre au counte dan  
Tille ; et devant qu'ils purroient assembler, le  
counte dan Tille s'en departi.*

**L**A baniere au roy de Navarre  
Et monsieur Martin de Lacarre  
Se partirent ou le Captal, 3335  
Qui ot le coer preu et loial,

---

exposed himself to danger ; for I think that never man,  
poor or rich, put himself so forward, as he did on this day.  
Nor was the Prince behind hand in the fray, but with all  
speed came up, you must know without fail, with the right  
wing of his division.

*How the banner of the King of Navarre and Don Martin de  
Lacarre departed with the Captal, with two thousand fighting  
men, to engage the Count Don Tello ; and before they could  
engage, the Count Don Tello took to flight.*

**T**HE banner of the King of Navarre and Don Martin de  
Lacarre departed with the Captal, who had a preux

Et le droit seignour de la Bret,  
Qui de bien faire s'entremet,  
Ensemble furent bien ij. mille  
Pur combatre au counte dan Tille, 3340  
Qui fut sur la senestre main  
De dan Bertran au coer certain;  
Mais je vous puis bien recorder  
Qu'avant qu'ils purent assembler,  
Dan Tille s'en prist à partir ; 3345  
Et le Captal, sanz alentir,  
Sur ceux à pé prist son retour.  
Moult les travaillerent ce jour.  
Come gent de hardi corage  
Se defendoient par vasselage 3350  
A senestre d'autre costé  
Du Prince, c'este verité,  
Percy, le seigniour de Clisceoun,  
Et monsieur Thomas de Felton

---

and loyal heart, and the good Lord d'Albret, who set himself to do well, together were they two thousand to fight with the Count Don Tello, who was on the left hand of the stout-hearted Messire Bertrand's division; but I ought to tell you that before they engaged, Don Tello betook himself to flight; and the Captal, without delay, marched back again on the foot soldiers. They struggled hard on this day, like men of a daring spirit defending themselves courageously. On the left of the other side of the Prince, it is true, Percy, the Lord of Clisson, with Sir Thomas

Et messire Gautier Hewet, 3355  
Qui sovent parler de ly fait.  
Cils venoient pour visiter  
L'avant-garde et pur conforter.

*Coment li très-noble Prince venoit oue sa graunt  
bataille pur combatre, et l'arere-garde fut comaundée  
d'estre à une petite mountaigne par devers les chivalx  
armez, et là fut le roy de Mayogre et plusours  
seigniours, et la bataille comença de toutes parts, et  
combatirent tant que les Espaignards s'enfuirent.*

LORS s'enforce li ferréis 3360  
Et fors fut li abatéis;  
Car lui franc Prince d'Aquitaine  
Toute sa grant bataille amaine.  
Là n'avoit cely qui se faigne.  
Une bien petite montaigne

---

Felton and Sir Walter Hewet, whose deeds are often spoken of, came to visit and encourage the van-guard.

*How the right noble Prince came with his great army into  
action, and the rereward was ordered to the side of a small  
hill towards the armed chargers, and there was the King of  
Majorca and many lords, and the battle commenced on every  
side, and lasted until the Spaniards were put to flight.*

THEN raged the din of arms and great was the slaughter;  
for the noble Prince of Aquitaine brought up his  
main body. There were no cowards there. On the left,



Avoit desoubz la main senestre. 3365  
Là ot-hom comandée à estre  
L'arere-garde sur le lès  
Par devers les chivalx armez.  
Là fut le Maiogre le roy,  
Que pas oblier je ne doï, 3370  
Et le preu conte d'Armynak  
Et le seigniour de Saverak,  
Messire Berard de la Bret  
Et Bertrukat, qui fu en het  
De combatre et entalentés. 3375  
Et se ne vous ay pas nomez  
Monsieur Hugh de Calverlé,  
Purquoy vous seroit destorbé  
La matiere et plus alongie ?  
Moult fut la bataille enforcie, 3380  
Qui comence de toutes partz.  
Archigaies, launces et dardz

---

below, was a very little hill; men had there been posted, the rereward on the side, towards the armed chargers: There was the King of Majorca, whom I ought not to forget, the preux Count d'Armagnac, and the Lord de Severac, Messire Bernard d'Albret, and Perdiccas, who was eager and well able to fight. And if I have not named Sir Hugh de Calverley, why should I interrupt and made my history too long? Right vigorous was the fight that now began on all sides. The Spaniards hurled stoutly arrows;

Lanceoient Espagnards par force.  
Chescun de bien faire s'esforce,  
Car plus drut traioient archier 3385  
Que ne soit pluie en temps d'yver.  
Chivalx et hommes lour blisceoient,  
Et les Espagnards bien perceoient  
Que plus ne purroient endurer.  
Les chivals prirent à tourner 3390  
Et à la fuite se sont mys.  
Quant les vit li bastard Henris,  
En ly n'avoit que coroucier.  
Par trois foitz les fist reculer  
En disant : « Seignours, aidez-moy 3395  
Pur Dieu, car vous m'avez fait roy  
Et si m'avez fait serement  
De moy aider loialement. »  
Mais sa parole rien ne vaut,  
Car toutzjours renforce l'assaut. 3400

---

lances, and javelins. Each strove to do his best. The arrows flew thicker than rain in winter time. Horses and men they wounded, and pierced through the Spaniards, that they could no longer endure it, and the cavalry began to give way and betook themselves to flight. When the bastard Enrique saw them, he was much enraged, three times he rushed them back, saying : « Sirs, give me aid for God's sake, for you have made me King, and you have taken an oath to aid me by your loyalty. » But his word availed nothing, for the attack encreased every moment.

*Coment le bastard s'enfui, et les Espaignardz furent desconfitz, et après ce les François se combatirent et furent auxi desconfitz, et monsieur Bartrem et plusieurs seigniours et chivalers furent pris et gentz d'armes mortz, et des Englois le sieur de Ferrers fut occis à mesme celle bataille.*

QUEI voillez-vous que je vous dye ?  
Il n'avoit en la compagnie

Du Prince home, tant fust petitz,

Qui ne fust bien auxi hardiz

Et auxi fiers come un lion. 3405

Home ne poet comparaison

Faire de Olyver et Rolant.

Espaignardz se tournoient fuyant,

Chescun ses frains abandonnez.

Dolantz en fut et moult irez 3410

---

*How the bastard fled, and the Spaniards were put to flight, and afterwards the French engaged and were also discomfited, and Messire Bertrand and many lords and knights were taken and soldiers slain, and of the English the Lord de Ferrers was slain at the same battle.*

WHAT will you that I now relate ? There was not in the Prince's army one man so small, who was not also hardy and as bold as a lion. Neither might men compare with them Oliver or Roland. The Spaniards then turned and fled each at full speed. Grieved and right angry

Luy bastard quant il les veoit;  
Mais fuyer il les covenoit,  
Ou ils fuissent toutz pris et mortz.  
Lors comence lui grant effortz;  
Là véissez le pé taillié, 3415  
Occis d'estoch et detaillié.  
Luy bastard s'enfuit tut un val;  
Mais encore sont en estal  
Li François, Bretons et Normandz;  
Mais petit dura lour baubantz, 3420  
Car moult tost furent disconfit.  
Et si sachez trestouz de fit  
Qu'hom crioit là à haute gorge  
En maint lieu : *Guyane ! Saint George !*  
Illoec fut pris monsieur Bertrans, 3425  
Et le mareschal sufficientz  
D'Odrehem, qui tant fut hardiz,  
Et un counte qui eut grant pris;

---

was the bastard at the sight ; but it behoved them to fly, or they had all been slain or taken. Then commenced the great struggle ; there might you see the drawn sword smiting point and blade. The bastard fled by the valley, but the French, Bretons and Normans still stood their ground ; but little availed their high courage, for they were soon defeated. And so know ye all was over. And men cried with a loud voice in many places for *Guienne ! Saint George !* There was taken Messire Bertrand and the able Marshal d'Audrehem, who was so hardy, and a count of great

Counte de Dene fut nomez.  
Ly counte Sanses, n'en doutés, 3430  
Y fut pris, qui fut chieftayne,  
Oue le Beghes de Villaine, '  
Monsieur Johan de Noefville  
Et des autres plus de ij. mille.  
Et pur faire juste report, 3435  
Luy Beghes de Villiers fut mort  
Et plusours autres, dont de noun  
Je ne say faire mencioun;  
Mais li report y fut tenuz :  
Cink centz homes d'armes, ou plus, 3440  
Morurent en la piece à terre  
Où homme eut maynte et maynte afere.  
Auxi de la part des Englois  
Morut un chivaler parfès :

---

price ; Count de Denia was his name. The Count Sancho too doubtless, who was in command, was taken there, with the Begue de Villaines, Messire Jean de Neville and of others more than two thousand ; and, to make a true report the Begue de Villiers was killed, with many others, whose names I know not how to mention. But it was reported that five hundred men-at-arms, or more, fell upon that field, where men had their hands full. Also on the side of the English fell a perfect knight, the noble Lord de

Ce fut le seignour de Ferriere. 3445  
Li glorious Dieux et seint Piere  
Ait les almes des trespasés !  
Seignour, pur Dieu ore entendés.

*De la place où la grant bataille estoit, et de la chase après la bataille ; et coment les Espaignardz, plus de deux mille, se noierent en une rivere ; environ vij. mille et vij. c. furent mortz, issint que l'eawe en fut vermaille ; et les Englois entrèrent en la ville et là furent prisoners pris ; et le Prince, qui se tenoit oue sa baniere levée, fut moult joious.*

**L**a place où home combati  
Estoit sur un plaine joly 3450  
Où il n'eut arbre ne buysson  
D'une grant leuge environ,

---

Ferrers. The glorious God and Saint Peter have the souls of the dead ! Sirs, for God's sake now hear.

*Of the place where this great battle was, and the pursuit afterwards ; and how the Spaniards, more than two thousand, were drowned into a river ; and about seven thousand seven hundred were killed, so that the water was red with blood ; and the English entered the town, where prisoners were taken, and the Prince, who remained with his banner raised, was right joyous.*

**T**HE place where the battle was fought was a beautiful plain, where was neither tree nor bush for a good

Solonc une beal rivere,  
Qui moult estoit et radde et fiere ;  
Lequel fist ceo jour de maus 3455  
Sur Castellains, car li enchaus  
Dusque à la rivere dura,  
Plus de deux mille en y noia.  
Devant Nazareth sur le pont  
Je vous fais assavoir que mont 3460  
Fut l'enchaus perillous et fiers.  
Là véïssez-vous chivalers  
De paour en l'eawe sallir  
Et l'un sur un autre morir ;  
Et si dist-hom par grant merveille 3465  
Que la rivere en fut vermeille  
Du sanc que issoit hors des corps  
Des hommes et des chivalx mortz.  
Tant fut grantz la disconfiture  
Que je croy que unques creature 3470

---

league round, by a beautiful river, that was both rapid and deep, which on this day enhanced the misery of the Castilians, for the pursuit continued down to the river. More than twelve thousand were drowned. On the bridge before Najera I tell you that very perilous and grievous was the chace. There might you see knights for fear leaping into the water, and dying one upon another. And men said that by great marvel the river was red with blood that flowed from the bodies of the dead men and horses. So great was the defeat, that I believe never had



Ne pooit unques avoir vewe  
Un peril, si Dieux m'aïue :  
Tant fut gros la mortalité.  
Li nombres ent fut reporté  
Environ vij. mille et vij. centz. 3475  
Et si vous di bien que les gentz  
Du Prince entrèrent en la ville.  
Là en eut des mortz plus de mille,  
Et là fut pris en une cave  
Lui grant mestre de Calletrave 3480  
Et le priour de Saint-Johan,  
Qui moult lour fist soeffrir d'ahan,  
Le mestre de Saint-Jake auxi.  
Cils deux s'estoient sans detri  
Traît par deux costés d'un haut mur. 3485  
Là ne furent pas asséur,  
Car gentz d'armes sus se metoient,  
Qui à l'assaillir se voloient ;

---

man at any time seen such a loss, so, God be my help, great was the slaughter. The number was reported about seven thousand seven hundred. And so, I tell you, the troops of the Prince entered the town. There were more than a thousand dead; and there they took in a cave the grand master of Calatrava, the prior of San Juan, who made them suffer much, the master of Santiago also. These two were without delay covered on both sides by a high wall. There they were not safe, for men-at-arms climbed up, to assail them from thence; humbly then they surren-

Mais humblement se vindrent rendre,  
Car ne les oserent attendre. 3490  
Ensi furent-ils mortz et pris :  
Dont très-forment fut rejoiz  
Lui très-noble Prince vaillantz,  
Lequel se tenoit sur les champs  
Et ot sa baniere levée, 3495  
Où sa gent se fut rassemblée.

*Du temps quant ceste bataille estoit.*

S EIGNIOUR, le temps que je vous dy  
Ce fut droit par un samady,  
Trois jours droit eu moys d'averil,  
Que tiel douce oisselet gentil 3500  
Preignent à refaire lour chantz  
Par prées et bois et par champs.  
En celluy temps fut tout sans faille  
Devant Nazarz la grant bataille.

---

dered themselves, for they dared no longer wait. Thus were they slain or taken ; at which the very high and noble Prince greatly rejoiced. He remained upon the field, and had his banner raised, where his troops reassembled.

*Of the time of the battle.*

SIRS, the time that I tell you of, was just upon a Saturday, the third day of the month of April, when the sweet gentle birds begin again their song, through meadow, wood and field. At this time was without fail the great battle before Najera.

*Coment le Prince se logea à noet oue ses gentz, où le  
bastard fut logié la noet devant, et là menerent grant  
deduit et gracioient Dieu, et là troverent vitailles  
assetz et grant plenté de richesse.*

**E**<sup>NSI</sup> fut come oÿ avez. 3505  
En cele noet fut hostellez  
Lui Prince droit eu logement  
Où luy roy Henri proprement  
Avoit esté logiez la nuyt.  
Illoec menoient grant deduyt, 3510  
Et gracioient Dieu le Piere,  
Le Filtz et sa benoite miere,  
De la grace qu'il lour ad fait ;  
Car bien sachez tout entresait  
Que là trouverent vin et pain 3515  
(Toutz les loges ent furent plain),

---

*How the Prince with his troops at night encamped, where the  
bastard was lodged the night before, and were right joyful  
and gave thanks to God, and there found victuals enough and  
riches in plenty.*

**S**o it was as you have heard. The Prince was encamped  
on this night, in the very lodging where King Enrique  
himself had lodged the night before. There they had great  
rejoicings, and thanked God the Father, the Son and his  
blessed Mother, for the grace he had bestowed ; for know  
well besides that they found there wine and bread (all the

Cofres, vessel, or et argent,  
Dont il pleut bien à mainte gent.

*Coment le roy daun Petre est venuz au Prince et le remercia de ce qu'il avoit fait pur luy, et disoit au Prince coment il voloît prendre vengeance de ceux qui avoient esté contre luy, et le noble Prince à ce respoundi, et luy disoit son sage avis.*

L y roy daun Petre en est venuz  
Au Prince, qui moult fut ses druz, 3520  
Et lui ad dit : « Beau cosin chier,  
Je vous doi bien remercier,  
Car ce jour-de-huy m'avez fait tant  
Que jamès jour de mon vivant  
Je ne le purray deservir. » 3525  
— « Sire, fit-il, votre pleisir.

---

quarters were full), coffers, vessels, gold and silver, with which many were well pleased.

*How the King Don Pedro came to the Prince, and thanked him for all he had done, and told the Prince how he wished to take vengeance on those who had been against him, and the noble Prince replied and gave him his good advice.*

THE King Don Pedro came to the Prince, who was his warm friend, and said to him : « Cousin dear, I ought indeed to thank you, for you have done more for me this day, than I can ever deserve, the longest day I live. » — « Sire,

Merciez Dieu, et noun pas moy ;  
Car par la foy que je vous doy,  
Dieux l'ad fait, et noun mie nous,  
Si que nous devons estre touz 3530  
En volonté de li prier  
Merci et de lui gracier. »  
Daun Petre dist qu'il disoit voir  
Et de ce avoit bon vouloir ;  
Mais il voilloit prendre vengeance 3535  
Des traïtours qui par puissance  
Lui ont fait tant de mal sentir.  
Lors dist le Prince sanz mentir :

*Coment le Prince conseilla le roy Petre de pardonner  
à ceux qui avoient esté encontre lui ; et le roy daun  
Petre lui granta, forspris un qui avoit à noun Gome*

---

said he, with your leave, give thanks to God, and not to me ; for, by the faith that I owe you, God, not we, has done this, so that we ought all willingly to pray his mercy and give him thanks. » Don Pedro answered that he spake truth, and that he was willing to act thus ; but he wished to take vengeance on the traitors who in their might had done him such evil. Then spake the Prince plainly :

*How the Prince advised King Pedro to pardon those who had  
been against him ; and the King Don Pedro assented,*

*Garilles, lequel fut trayné parmy l'ost et la goule  
trenchée.*

« SIRE roy, donez-moy un don,  
Je vous pri, si vous semble bon. » 3540  
Dist lui roy Petre : « Las ! purquoy,  
Sire, demandez-vous à moy ?  
Tout est votre ce que je ay. »  
Lors dist li Prince sanz delay :  
« Sire, du votre ne voil rien ; 3545  
Mais je vous conseille pur bien,  
Se estre voillez roy de Castelle,  
Que par tout mandez la nouvelle  
Que ottroié avez le doun  
De doner à touz ceux pardoun 3550  
Qui ont encontre vous esté ;  
Et ce par male volonté

---

*excepting one who was named Gomez Carillo, who was  
dragged through the army, and his throat cut.*

« SIRE King, grant me one boon, I pray you, if it seem  
good. » King Pedro answered : « Sire, why do you ask  
of me ? All I have is yours. » Then said the Prince without  
delay : « Sire, of yours I want nothing ; but I advise you for  
good, if you would be King of Castille, that you send  
forth word, that you have consented to give pardon to all  
those who have been against you, and have by ill will or by

Et par malvais conseil auxi  
Esté ou le bastard Henry,  
De ore en avant lour pardonez ; 3555  
Mais que de bonne voluntez  
Ils veignent vous merci prier. »  
Lui roy daun Petro ottoier  
Le volt, mais ce est à grant payne.  
Puis dist au Prince d'Aquitayne : 3560  
« Beau cosin, je le vous ottoie,  
Fors que d'un, mais je ne vorroie  
Avoir trestout l'or de Seville  
Pur deporter Gomez Carille,  
Car certes ce est le traïtour 3565  
Qui plus m'ad fait de deshonor. »  
Et li Prince li dist ensi :  
« Faites votre vouloir de luy,  
Et les autres touz pardonez. »  
Sanches, frere au bastard, fut amenez, 3570

---

ill advice also, sided with the bastard Enrique ; but, before you pardon them, that they, all of free will, come to pray you mercy. » The King Don Pedro consented, but with much difficulty. Then he said to the Prince of Aquitaine : « Good cousin, I consent to all with one exception ; but I would not for all the gold of Seville, trifle with Gomez Carillo, for he is the very traitor who has done me dishonour. » The Prince answered him : « Do your will with him, and pardon all the others. » Then Sancho, the bastard's



Et plusours autres prisoniers,  
Qui il pardona voluntiers  
Pur le Prince et pur sa priere.  
Et lors se retourna arere  
Tout droit où il estoit logiez, 3575  
Et illoc fut appareillez  
Gome ; traïner le fist-hom  
Et trencher la goule soubz le menton  
Adonc devant toute la gent.  
Purquoy feroÿ-je un parlement 3580  
De la matiere plus lontayne ?  
Le Prince le lundi proschayne

*Comment le Prince et le roy Petre s'en departirent de  
Naddres par devers Burghes, et les nouvelles s'en  
alerent à toutes parts.*

**D**E devant Naddres se party,  
Et le roy daun Petro auxi.

---

brother, and other prisoners were brought up, whom he freely pardoned, for the Prince and his prayer's sake. And then he returned again straight to his camp ; and there Gomez Carillo was dressed, then dragged out, and had his throat cut beneath his chin before all the troops. Why should I make a longer story of this matter ? The Prince on the next Monday

*How the Prince and King Pedro departed from Najera towards  
Burgos, and the news travelled far and wide.*

**T**HEY departed from before Najera, and King Pedro also. They took their way to Burgos ; and then the

Par devers Burghes chiminerent ; 3585  
Et lors les nouvelles alerent  
Par Espagne de toutes partz  
Que desconfitz fut li bastardz.

*Coment la femme du bastard estoit à Burghes ; et quant  
ele avoit oy les nouvelles, ele s'enfuit moult dolente en  
Aragon, et fist ses grantz et dolorouses compleintes  
de la fortune ; et après ce comenda li Prince moult  
noblement ; et le Prince se vint loger à Bervesques.*

A Burghes estoit sa moullier,  
Qui n'eut mye temps de targier. 3590  
Sitost que nouvelles savoit,  
S'en ala plus tost que pooit,  
Et ce qu'ele pooit porter  
De bien que elle pooit trusser.

---

tidings travelled through Spain on every side, that the  
bastard was defeated.

*How the wife of the bastard was at Burgos ; and when she  
heard the news, she fled all wretched into Aragon, and made  
great and dolorous complaint of fortune ; and afterwards she  
commended the Prince right nobly, and the Prince removed  
to Briviesca.*

A<sup>r</sup> Burgos was his wife, who had no time to tarry.  
So soon as she had heard the news, she with all  
possible speed, and with what she could carry of those

Tant chimina et jour et nuit 3595  
Que ceux qui li font conduit,  
Qu'en Aragon elle est venue.  
Moult durement fut deperdue ;  
Come dolante et explorée  
Disoit : « Las ! purquoy fui-je née ? 3600  
De Castille estoie roïne  
De corone d'or riche et fine ;  
Mais poi a duré la fortune.  
Hé ! mort, que estes à touz commune,  
Que attends-tu ? Morir vorroie, 3605  
Car jamès avoir ne purroie  
Ne esbatement ne solas.  
Toute foitz que homme dira : « Las !  
Veiez-là la roigne d'Espagne,  
Que corona la grant Compaigne ! 3610

---

goods she could pack up, travelled day and night with those who formed her escort until she came to Aragon. Very sadly was she cast down ; as bewailing and full of tears, she said : « Alas ! why was I born ? I was Queen of Castille with a rich crown of gold ; but a short time has fortune lasted. O death, who art common, to all men why delayest thou now that I would die, for never more can I have relief nor solace. Men will always say : « Alas ! See there the Queen of Spain, crowned by the great

Hé! Prince, ta puissance fiere  
M'ad de haut en bas mis arere.

Moult est bien la dame honorée

Que à ton corps est assenée ;

Car dire poet qu'ele ad la flour 3615

De tout le monde et le meillour,

Et que tout le monde maistrie. »

Ensi dist la dame jolie,

Que se compleindoit en ses dits ;

Et li noble Prince de pris 3620

S'en vint à Bervesques logier,

Et le roi Petre à chivacher

*Coment le roy Petre s'en chivacha devant Burghes, et  
les burgeis venoient encontre lui et ly recevoirent moult  
belement. Et après ceo le Prince venoit à Burghes,  
et là demora par un moys ; et le roy Petre manda*

---

Company. Oh Prince, thy proud prowess has brought me  
down from my high estate. Highly is that lady honoured,  
who is bound to thee ; for she can say that she has the  
best flower of all the world, and he who is master of all. »  
Thus said the lovely dame, who made these complainings ;  
and the noble and renowned Prince marched and encamped  
at Briviesca, and King Pedro rode there.

*How the King Pedro rode towards Burgos, and the citizens  
met and received him very kindly. And afterwards the Prince  
came to Burgos, and there stayed one month ; and King Pedro*

*par toute Espagne, et lour sount venuz les gentz de  
toutes parties, et lui prièrent mercy, et il les pardona.*

**S**E prist devant Burghes tut droit.  
Encontre de li là endroit  
Vindrent touz li riches burgeois, 3625  
Qui lui disoient : « Bien-veignez, rois. »  
Lors fut à Burghes recéuz,  
Et li Prince y est venuz  
Après le terme de vj. jours,  
Et à Burghes fut ly sojours 3630  
Bien le terme d'un mois passé.  
Par tout Espagne ad hom crié  
Si qu'il n'i ad cité ne ville  
Et à Tollette et à Seville,  
A Cordevalle et à Lion, 3635  
Par tout le roialme environ,

---

*sent through all Spain, and there came to him the people from  
all parts, and prayed him mercy, and he pardoned them.*

**H**E took his way straight to Burgos, from which town  
all the rich inhabitants came out to meet him; and  
said : « Oh King, welcome ! » Then was he received  
into Burgos. The Prince came there also, after the lapse  
of six days, and sojourned at Burgos, until a month had  
passed away. Through all Spain the proclamation was made,  
so that there was no town nor city, both at Toledo and  
Seville, at Cordova and Leon, through all the realm round

Que chescun venist sanz detry  
 Au roy Petre prier mercy.  
 Lors sont de toutes partz venu  
 Lui estranges et lui conu, 3640  
 Et li roy tous lour pardona.  
 Seigniour, ne vous mentiray jà.

*Coment le Prince tenoit son jugement devant Burghes,  
 et toute Espagne fut à sa ordinance; et là vint  
 Ferantes de Castres, et le Prince ly fist grant honour  
 et le festoia moult noblement; et là sojourna le  
 Prince vij. mois et plus, et illoeques furent les  
 sercements renouvellés.*

Luy Prince tint certainement  
 Devant Burghes son jugement,  
 Et tint son gage de bataille, 3645  
 Si que hom pooit dire sanz faille

about, that did not come without delay to ask mercy of King Pedro; from all parts they came, strangers with those known, and the King pardoned them all. Sirs, I will tell you no untruth.

*How the Prince held his court before Burgos, and all Spain was at his bidding; and there came Fernando de Castro, and the Prince did him great honour, and right nobly entertained him; and there sojourned seven months and more, and there the oaths were renewed.*

THE Prince in good truth held his court before Burgos, and his wager of battle, so that men might say truly

Qu'en Espagne ot tiele puissance  
Que tut fut à son ordinance.  
Là vint de Castres dans Ferrantz,  
Qui moult estoit preu et vaillantz. 3650  
Lni Prince moult le festoia  
Et moult grant honour li porta.  
A Burghes, la cité garnie,  
Ly Prince oue sa baronie  
Sojournerent vij. mois, ou plus ; 3655  
Et là fut lour conseil tenus ;  
Et là furent renovellé  
Les serments qu'ils eurent juré,

*Coment le roy Petre s'en ala devers Seville pur purchacer or et  
argent pur paier au noble Prince et à ses gentz, et le noble*

---

that he had in Spain such power, that all were at his bidding. There came Don Fernando de Castro, who was right preux and valiant. The Prince entertained him well, and did him much honour. The Prince and his barony sojourned at the rich city of Burgos seven months, or more ; and there was their council held, and there were renewed the oaths they had before sworn :

*How the King Pedro went towards Seville to procure gold and  
silver to pay the noble Prince and his troops, and the noble*



*Prince l'attendi entour la Valedolif par vj. mois, et ses gentz  
soeffrèrent grant dureté par defaute de vitaille.*

**E**T que le roy daun Petre droit  
Devers Seville s'en iroit 3660  
Pur purchacer or et argent  
Pur paier le Prince et sa gent.  
Et li Prince devoit attendre  
Le roy daun Petre, à voir entendre,  
Au Valedolif et là entour ; 3665  
Et ordeigna un certain jour  
Qu'il devoit à ly retourner ;  
Mais, à verité recorder,  
Ly Prince l'atendi vj. mois,  
Dont moult endura de destroiz 3670  
Son hoost de soif et de faim  
Par defaute de vin et pain.

---

*Prince waited in Valladolid six months, and his troops  
suffered great hardships for want of food.*

**A**ND that King Don Pedro should go straight towards Seville, to procure gold and silver to pay the Prince and his troops ; and the Prince was to wait for the King Pedro, the truth to hear, in Valladolid and the neighbourhood ; and he appointed a certain day when he would return to him ; but to record the truth, the Prince waited six months, during which his army suffered greatly by distress and hunger for want of wine and of bread. A proverb I have

Un proverbe ai oÿ noncier,  
Que hom doit pur sa femme tencier  
Et pur sa viande combatre. 3675  
Seignieur, il ne fait nul esbatre  
Qui n'ad beu et mangez assetz :  
Dont il y avoit gent assetz  
Qui ne mangeoient pas de pain,  
Toutes foits qu'ils avoient faim. 3680  
Et si n'osoient sanz mentir  
Villes ne chastelx assaillir,  
Car le Prince l'ot defendu ;  
Mais s'hom les deust avoir pendu,  
Lour faloit-il faire par force, 3685  
Car grant faÿme les enforce.  
Et li Prince méismement  
Prist Haumonsque primerement,  
Et fut à Medisnes de Camp,  
Et demura tant sur le camp 3690

---

heard said, that a man should quarrel for his wife, and fight for his bread. Sirs, it is no joke for one who has not enough to eat and drink : there were then plenty of people who had no bread to eat, whenever they were hungry. And although they dared not, in truth, assail towns or castles, for the Prince had forbidden it ; yet, they would be compelled to do this, for the great famine obliged them. And the Prince likewise took first Almazan he was at Medina del Campo, and stayed so long

Que de la ville ot la vitaille,  
Ou liveré lour eust bataille.  
Auxi toute la grand Compaigne  
Plusours en prisent en Espagne ;  
Mais nepurquant pur verité 3695  
Moult ils soefffirent durescé,  
Toutdiz le roy Petre attendant.  
Quant ils eurent demoré tant,  
Et le jour estoit jà passez  
Qu'il devoit estre retournez, 3700

*Coment le roy Petre envoya ses lettres au Prince et ly  
rendit grantz mercis, et lui excusa de son paiement,  
et le noble Prince ly envoya une lettre.*

UNE lettre au Prince manda,  
De quel le tenour devisa  
Qu'il li rendoit moultz des mercys  
De ce qu'il lui avoit servis ;

---

on the field, that from the town he had the victuals, or he would have given battle to them. Also the great Company took many in Spain ; but nathless in truth they suffered great hardships, waiting all this time for King Pedro. When they had waited so long, and the day had passed that he ought to have returned,

*How the King Pedro sent his letters to the Prince, and thanked him greatly, but excused himself for payment, and the noble Prince sent him a letter.*

HE sent a letter to the Prince, the tenor of which was that he gave him many thanks for the service he

Car roy fut de toute Castielle,	3705
Et chescun son seignour l'appelle ;	
Mais sa gent lui ont respondu,	
Sachez, li grant et li menu,	
Qu'il ne purroit avoir argent	
S'il ne fesoit voider sa gent.	3710
Et pur tant le Prince prioit	
Amiablement com pooit	
Qu'il li pléust à repaier,	
Car plus n'avoit de li mestier,	
Et qu'il vousist ordeigner gent	3715
Pur resceyvre son paiement.	
Le Prince moult s'esmerveilla,	
Sitost que la lettre escouta ;	
Deux chivalers vers ly tramist	
Et par lettres savoir li fist	3720
Que il n'avoit tenuz les ditz	
Qu'il avoit jurés et promis.	

---

had done him ; for that he was now King of all Castille, and each called him his lord. But his people had answered him, both high and low, that money he could not have, unless the Prince removed his troops ; and therefore he begged the Prince, with as good a grace as he could, to be pleased to withdraw, as he had no further need of him, and that he would appoint persons to receive his payments. The Prince marvelled greatly when he had heard the letters ; he sent to him two knights, and by letter let him know that he had not kept his word, as he had sworn and promised.

*Coment le Prince prist son purpois de retourner en Aquitaine, car plusours disoient que le bastard y estoit entrez et fait grant damage; et le Prince tant chivacha qu'il vint à la vale de Sorie, et en ce temps Chaundos conceilla oue le conceil d'Aragon.*

A quoy faire vos conteroie  
La matiere et alongeroie?  
Tant vous en purroye conter 3725  
Que bien vous purroye taner.  
Luy Prince ad bien apercëu  
Qu'ensi le roy Petre ne fu  
Pas si foiaux come il quidoit;  
Lors dist qu'il s'en retourneroit, 3730  
Quar plusours disoient ensi  
Auxi que le bastard Henri

---

*How the Prince proposed to return to Aquitaine, for many said that the bastard had entered there and done great damage; and the Prince marched back to the vale of Soria; and how Chandos at this time held council with the council of Aragon.*

WHY should I recount to you this matter at greater length? So much I might tell you, that I would tease you. The Prince had well seen that King Pedro was not so trustworthy as he thought; then he said that he would return, for many had told him that the bastard

Estoit entrez en Aquitaine  
Et moult fesoit soffrir de paine  
Au comun poeple du païs, 3735  
Dont le Prince fut moult maris.  
Lors prist le Prince son retour  
De Mandregay sanz nul sojour;  
Tant jour et noet ad chivaché  
Qu'il vint eu val de Soryé, 3740  
Où il sojourna bien un mois.  
Et Chaundos conseilla en trois  
Oue le conseil d'Aragon.  
Du conseil ne say si poy non.

*Coment Chaundos et monsieur Martin de Lacarre  
venoient au roy de Navarre, et purchacerent le passage  
du Prince; et le Prince se parti de la vale de Sorie  
et prist sa voie parmy Navarre, et le roy de Navarre*

---

Enrique had entered Aquitaine, and caused much distress among the common people of the land; at which the Prince was greatly wroth. Then he straightway returned from Madrigal without delay; so he travelled day and night till he came to the vale of Soria, where he remained one month. And Chandos, with three others, negotiated with the council of Aragon, which I know but little of.

*How Chandos and Messire Martin de Lacarre came to the  
King of Navarre, and obtained a passage for the Prince, and  
how he left the vale of Soria, and marched through Navarre;*

*ly conduist outre le pas, et là prirent congié; et le Prince vint à Bayone, et là fut par v. jours en grauntz reveaux, et les burgeis le festoient moult graund et noblement.*

**M** AIS pur la matiere abreggier, 3745  
Chaundos s'en vint sanz atargier  
Par devers le roy de Navarre.  
Il et daun Martin de Lacarre  
Purchacerent tant que le roys  
De Navarre, qui fut curtoys, 3750  
Lessa le Prince repasser;  
Et le Prince, sanz arester,  
Se parti du val de Sorie.  
Parmy la Navarre ad quillie  
Sa voie sanz prendre sojour. 3755  
Lui roy, qui moult fut plain d'onour,

---

*and the King of Navarre gave him conduct beyond the pass, and took his leave; and the Prince came to Bayonne, and was there five days with great revels, and the citizens entertained him much and nobly.*

**B**UT to shorten the narrative, Chandos came without delay before the King of Navarre. He with Don Martin de Lacarre so wrought, that the King of Navarre, who was courteous, suffered the Prince to pass again; and the Prince directly left the vale of Soria, and took his route through Navarre without stopping. The King, who



Au Prince grant honour fesoit,  
Car toutz les jours li envoioit  
Vin et vitaille à grant plenté.  
Parmy Navarre l'ad mené, 3760  
Et conduit tout outre le pas.  
Après, ne vous mentiray pas,  
A Saint-Johan-du-Pé-des-Portz  
Festoierent par grantz desportz.  
D'illoec ensemble congié prirent 3765  
Douceement et se departirent.  
Lors s'en vint le Prince à Baione,  
Dont graunt joie ot mainte persone.  
Noblement les nobles burgeois  
Le festoioient, et ce fut droitz, 3770  
Et là congié done à sa gent ;  
Et lour dist que lour paiement  
Venissent querir à Burdeaux.  
Là fut v. jours en grant reveaux.

---

was right honourable, did the Prince great honour ; for each day he furnished him with plenty of wine and food. He conducted him through Navarre all through the passes. Afterwards, I will tell you no untruth, at Saint-Jean-Pied-de-Port they feasted right joyously. Thence together they took their leave in good will and departed. Then the Prince came to Bayonne, at which many were right glad. Nobly did the principal townsmen entertain him, as was right ; and there he disbanded his troops, and said that they should come to Bordeaux to receive their pay. There he was entertained five days.

*Coment le Prince s'en est partiz de Bayone, et est venuz  
à Burdeaux, et fut reçuz moult noblement à croys  
et à processions; et la Princesse, oue Edward, son  
filtz, vint encontre ly oue plusours dames et ebiva-  
lers, et demenoient moult graunt joie.*

<b>D</b> E Baione s'est departiz	3775
Lui Prince, plus n'est alentiz	
Tant que il est à Burdeaux venuz.	
Noblement y fut rescéuz	
A croys et à processions;	
Et toutes les religions	3780
A l'encontre de li venoient,	
Moult noblement le festoioient	
En loeant et graciant Dieu.	
Lors descendi à Saint-Andrew.	3785
La Princesse vint contre ly,	
Qui fist apporter oue luy	

---

*How the Prince left Bayonne and came to Bordeaux, and was  
received nobly with crosses and processions; and the Princess,  
with Edward, her son, met him with many ladies and  
knights, and they had great rejoicings.*

**F**ROM Bayonne the Prince departed and did not tarry till he came to Bordeaux. There was he nobly received with crosses and processions; and all the conventuals came to meet him, and entertained him most nobly, praising and thanking God. Then he went to Saint-André. The Princess met him, and caused to be brought with her Edward, his

Edward, son filtz le primiers.  
 Les dames et les chivalers  
 Pur li festoier y venoient 3790  
 Et moult grant joie demenoient.  
 Moult doucement s'entr'acolerent  
 Ensemble quant ils s'encontrerent.  
 Ly Prince, qui ot coer gentil,  
 Baisa sa moullier et son fil. 3795  
 Dusque à l'ostiel à pé s'en vinrent,  
 Ensemble par les mains se tinrent.

*Coment le Prince demura à Burdeaux en grant joie et  
 deduit, et chescun s'en resjoï de sa venue par tout le  
 país d'Aquitaine, et chescun festoia moult noblement  
 son amy.*

A quoy faire vous mentiroye ?  
 A Burdeaux fesoit-hom tiel joie  
 Que chescun se rejoïssoit 3800  
 Du Prince qui venuz estoit ;

first born son. Ladies and knights came there to greet him, and caused much rejoicing ; right sweetly did they embrace when they met together. The Prince, who had a gentle heart, kissed his wife and his son, and they held each other by the hand, until on foot they reached their lodging. *How the Prince stayed at Bordeaux with much joy, and how all throughout Aquitaine every one rejoiced at his coming, and all made merry with their friends.*

WHY should I tell you what is not true ? At Bordeaux men were so rejoiced that each showed his delight,

Et cils qui furent ovesque ly  
Chescun festoyoit son amy.  
Hom pooit savoir que cel nuit  
Fist hom en maint lieu grant deduit 3805  
Par tout le païs d'Aquitaine,  
De ce est bien chose certaine.  
Pur venir à conclusion,  
Ore vous ai fet mencion  
Du Prince et de son grant voiage 3810  
Et de son noble baronage :  
Pardonés-moy si mal j'ai dit,  
Car de rien ne vous ay menti.

*Coment le Prince, après ce qu'il avoit demoré un temps  
à Bordeaux, fist assembler à Saint-Milion touz les  
nobles de toute la principalté moult debonairement,*

---

at the arrival of the Prince and those who were with him ;  
each made merry with his friend. One should know that  
on this night, men rejoiced in many places throughout all  
Aquitaine, of this there is no doubt. To come to the  
conclusion, now have I made mention to you of the Prince  
and his great expedition, and of his right noble baronage :  
pardon me if I have spoken ill, for nothing have I spoken  
falsely.

*How the Prince, after that he had stayed some time at  
Bordeaux, assembled at Saint-Emilion all the lords of the  
principality right fairly, as well those who had been with*

*si bien ceux qui avoient esté ovesque ly en Espaigne,  
et les festoia moult noblement, et grauntz douns lour  
dona ; et lors chescun se parti vers soun hosteil.*

**A** Burdeaux demora un temps,  
Et bien se tenoit pur content 3815  
De ses gentz et de son païs,  
Car moult li avoit resjoiz.  
Puis fist, en rien contrefaison,  
Assembler à Saint-Milion  
De toute la principalté 3820  
Les nobles, ce fut verité :  
Countes, barons, vesques, prelatz,  
Là vindrent-ils à grant solas ;  
Et ly Prince debonairment  
Les mercia moult humblement, 3825  
Ceux qui ovesque sa compaignie  
Furent et oue ly en Espaigne,

---

*him in Spain, and entertained them right nobly, and gave them  
large presents ; and then each returned to his home.*

**A**T Bordeaux he remained some time, and was very much pleased with his people and his country, for they had much gladdened him. Then, in nothing we belie, he assembled at Saint-Emilion the nobles of all his principality, it is true : counts, barons, bishops, prelates, came there with much pleasure; and the Prince kindly and humbly thanked them, those who were with his company and with

Et ceux qui demoré estoient,  
Qui le païs gardé avoient,  
Et lour dist : « Beaux seigniours, par foy,                    3830  
De tout mon coer aymer vous doi ;  
Car vous m'avez très-bien servi.  
De bon coer je vous en merci. »  
Moult noblement les estora,  
Et moult beals dons lour dona,                                3835  
Or, argent et riches joiaux ;  
Et cils en fesoient grantz reveaux.  
Du noble Prince se partirent,  
Vers lour hostelx lour chemin prirent.

*Coment le Prince se vint à Anguleme, et là luy survint  
sa maladie, et adonques comencèrent fauxetés et*

---

himself in Spain, and those who had remained to guard the country, and said to them : « Good sirs, by my faith, with all my heart I ought to love you, for you have served me right well. From my heart I thank you. » Right nobly he entertained them, and gave them rich presents, gold and silver and rich jewels ; and those made great festivities. They departed from the noble Prince, and took their way homeward.

*How the Prince arrived at Angoulême, and there his malady overtook him, and then commenced falsities and treasons*

*traïsons entre les seigniours du païs ; car ils  
s'accorderent entre eux de comencer guerre contre le  
Prince.*

A SSETZ tost après ce avint 3840  
Que à Anguleme logier vint  
Lui noble Prince d'Aquitaine ;  
Et là, c'est bien chose certaine,  
Li comencea la maladie  
Qui puis dura toute sa vie : 3845  
Dont fut damages et pité.  
Adonc comencea fauxeté  
Et traïson à gouverner  
Ceux qui le devoient aymer ;  
Car cils que tenoit pur amis, 3850  
Adonc furent ses enemis.

---

*amongst the lords of the country, who conspired together to  
war against the Prince.*

SOME short time after this it happened that thither came to sojourn in Angoulême the noble Prince of Aquitaine ; and there, it is well certain, began that malady, which lasted to the end of his life : great pity indeed that it was so. Then began duplicity and treason to rule those who should have loved him ; for those whom he held as his friends, became then his enemies. But it is



Mais ce n'est mie grant merveille,  
Car l'enemy qui touz jours veille,  
Pluis tost grevera un prudhomme  
Que un mauvais, ce est la somme ; 3855  
Et pur ce sitost que hom savoit  
Que li noble Prince estoit  
Malades, en peril de mort,  
Ses enemis furent d'accort  
De la guerre recomencier : 3860  
Si comencerent à traitier  
A ceux qu'ils savoient de fit  
Qu'ils estoient si enemit.

*Coment la guerre fut recomencée entre Fraunce et Engle-  
terre, et adonques villes et cités et plusours seigniours  
du païs se tournerent encontre le Prince, et se tra-  
hient vers le roy de Fraunce, come à leur seigniour*

---

no great marvel, for the enemy who is ever watchful, would rather trouble a noble man than one of low birth, so it is : wherefore when men knew that the noble Prince was ill, in danger of his life, his enemies agreed to recommence the war, and so began to treat with those whom they knew for fact that they were his enemies.

*How the war was recommenced between France and England,  
and the towns and cities and many lords of the land turned  
against the Prince, and sided with the King of France as*

*soverain, pur appeler le Prince en sa court, en  
disant qu'il lour avoit fait grant tort.*

A DONC recomencea la guerre  
Entre la France et l'Engleterre, 3865  
Et lors villes et cité  
Se tournerent, c'est verité,  
Et plusours countes et barons,  
Dont je ne doi celer les nouns :  
Arminak, Lisle et Peregos, 3870  
Labret, Cominges, à briefs motz,  
Toutz relinquirent à un jour  
Le Prince, lour liege seigniour,  
Pur ce que malades estoit  
Et que aider plus ne se pooit. 3875  
Adonc furent-ils d'accord,  
Sicome je oy en mon record,

---

*their lord paramount to summon the Prince into his court,  
saying that he had done them great wrong.*

THEN began again the war between France and England,  
and then towns and cities deserted, as is true, with  
many counts and barons, whose name I need not hide :  
Armagnac, Lisle, and Périgord, Albret, Comminges, in a  
few words, all in a day left the Prince, their liege lord,  
because he was ill and could no further help himself. Then  
were they all agreed, as I have it in my memory, that they  
would separate from the Prince and commence the war.

Que du Prince s'expelleroient  
Et que guerre comenceroient.  
Ly counte d'Arminak primers 3880  
Et plenté d'autres chivalers  
Se trairent vers le roy de France,  
Et luy dirent sanz demorance  
Qu'ils voilloient en appeler  
En sa court et eux retourner, 3885  
En disant que le Prince tort  
Lour fesoit et travailloit fort :  
Pur ce venoient de certain  
Vers luy com seignour souverain.

*Coment le roy de Fraunce appela son grant conseil et  
lour monstra l'entente du counte d'Armynak, et sur  
ce le roy de Fraunce envoya prier le Prince de venir*

---

The Count d'Armagnac first, with many other knights, went over to the King of France, and said to him without demur that they wished to appeal to his court, and return to their allegiance, saying that the Prince had done them wrong and oppressed them much : wherefore they came before him as to their sovereign lord.

*How the King of France summoned his great council, and showed them the intention of the Count d'Armagnac, upon which the King of France sent for the Prince to come and*

*et respondre en son parlement : dount le noble Prince  
fut corucez.*

<b>L</b> E roy de France en appela	3890
Son grant conseil et assembla,	
Et lour monstra toute l'entente	
Coment cil d'Arminak le tempte	
De la guerre recomencier.	
Dont se pristrent à conseiller ;	3895
Et le conseil fut sur ce point,	
De ce ne vous mentiray point,	
Qu'ils firent le Prince mander	
Que il venist sanz arester	
Respondre en son plein parlement.	3900
Et contre cel appelement	
Ly Prince, qui malades fut,	
Quant il ot le fait entendu,	

---

*answer before his parliament, at which the Prince was greatly  
enraged.*

**T**HE King of France then called a meeting of his great council, and laid before them all the design, how the Count d'Armagnac tempted him to recommence the war ; upon which they debated and came to the resolution, of which I will say no untruth, that they should summon the Prince to appear without delay to answer in full parliament. And upon this appeal the Prince, who was sick, when he had

Moult durement fut coroucez.  
Adonc s'est de son lit drescez 3905  
Et ad dit : « Beaux seigniours, par foi,  
Avis m'est, à ce que je voi,  
Que François me teignent pur mort ;  
Mais si Dieux me doint vrai confort,  
Si de ce lit lever me puis, 3910  
Encor lour ferai moult d'anuy :  
Car Dieu sciet bien que sanz bon droit  
Se pleindent de moy ore endroit. »

*Coment le Prince remanda au roy de France, et après  
ce comencea guerre en Aquitaine.*

**L**ORS remanda au roy de France  
De volonté hardie et france 3915  
Que voluntiers certeynement  
Il iroit à son mandement,

---

heard what was done, was mightily provoked, and rose up in his bed, and said : « Good sirs, by my faith, it seems from what I see, that the French hold me as dead ; but if God give me true relief, and I can once leave this bed, again will I cause them much annoyance : for God knows well that they complain unjustly of me in this. »

*How the Prince answered the King of France, and afterwards  
the war began in Aquitaine.*

**T**HEN he wrote back to the King of France in a stern and frank tone, that willingly and certainly would he come

Si Dieux li doinst saunté et vie,  
Li et toute sa compaignie,  
Le bacinet armé au chief, 3920  
Pur li defendre de meschief.  
Ensi, c'est bien chose certaine,  
Comencea guerre en Aquitaine,  
Et lors fist touz les Compaignons  
Mettre en toutes les garisons. 3925  
Là véissez guerre mortele  
Et en plusours lieux moult cruele.  
Le frere fut contre le frere  
Et le filz fut contre le pere.  
Chescun de eux sa part tenoit 3930  
A quel part que meulz li plesoit ;  
Mais en le temps que je vous di,  
Ly noble Prince moult perdit :  
Car traïsons et fauxetés  
Regnoient là de touz costés. 3935

---

at his bilding, if God granted him health and life, himself and all his company, helmed to the head, to keep him from mischief. Then, it is true indeed, commenced the war in Aquitaine. And then made he all the Companies take possession of all the garrisons. There might you see a deadly war, in many places very cruel ; brother fought against brother, and the son against his father. Each of them took that side which best pleased him ; but at the time I speak of, the noble Prince lost much : for treachery and falsehood prevailed on

Hom ne savoit en qui fiance  
Avoir, si le vray Dieu m'avance ;  
Mais nepurquant se confortoit  
Ly Prince au meulz que il pooit.

*Comént le Prince envoya en Engleterre pur socours avoir  
de son piere, et il ly envoya Esmond, counte de  
Cantebrigge, son filiz, et le counte de Pembrok oue  
moult noble chivalrie, lesqueux pristrent Bourdell  
per assaut; et le counte de Pembrok fut fait chivaler,  
et après ce mistrent siege à la Roche-sur-Yon.*

EN Engleterre fist mander 3940  
Socours pur li reconforter,  
Et li très-noble roy, son piere,  
Li envoya Esmond, son frere,  
De Cantebrigge de renon,  
Qui eut le coer fier com lion, 3945

---

every side. Men, so God help me, knew not in whom to put their trust ; but nevertheless the Prince exerted himself to the utmost.

*How the Prince sent to England for aid from his father, and he sent Edmund, Earl of Cambridge, his son, and the Earl of Pembroke with many noble knights, who took Bourdeille by assault; and the Earl of Pembroke was made a knight, and afterwards they besieged La Roche-sur-Yon.*

HE then demanded succour from England to strengthen him ; and the right noble King, his father, sent him Edmund, his brother, the renowned Earl of Cambridge, who had a heart courageous as a lion ; him of Pembroke



Le counte de Pembrock auxi,  
Qui eut le coer preu et hardi ;  
Et orent en lour compaignie  
Moult de noble chivalerie.  
Cils deux vindrent en le frontiere, 3950  
Et moult fesoient bele chiere.  
Bourdielle prirent par assaut,  
Dont eurent le coer lez et baut.  
Et là fut chivaler le counte  
De Pembrok, dont home fist counte. 3955  
Puis mistrent en courte saison  
Siege à la Roche-sur-Yon,  
Et Chaundos fut à Montauben,  
Qui illoc se maintenoit bien.

*Coment la Roche-sur-Yon fut pris par le counte de  
Cantebrigge, et Audelé et Chaundos trespasserent.*

---

also, who had a heart preux and hardy ; and they had in their company much noble knighthood. These two reached the frontier, and were indeed right welcome. Bourdeille they took by assault, which made their hearts light and gay. And the Earl of Pembroke, so highly esteemed, was there knighted. They then laid siege immediately to la Roche-sur-Yon ; whilst Chandos was at Montauban, maintaining himself there well.

*How la Roche-sur-Yon was taken by the Earl of Cambridge,  
and of the death of Audley and Chandos.*

QUE vous purroi-je recorder 3960  
Pur la matiere destourber ?  
De toutes partz fut la fortune  
En Aquitaine horrible et frune.  
La Roche-sur-Yon fut pris  
De Cantebrigge et son empris ; 3965  
Mais ensi qu'il pleut à celly  
Vray Dieux, qui unques ne menty,  
Monsieur James de Audelée,  
Qui moult fut de grant renommée,  
Morut illoec de maladie : 3970  
Dont dolantz fut, n'en doutez mye,  
Li très-noble Prince de pris,  
Car moult li fut saives amys.  
Et puis gaires ne demora  
Que Chaundos auxi trespasa 3975  
Au pont de Lussac, bien savez :  
Dont fut damages et pitez,

---

WHY should I tell you that which would interrupt the narrative ? On every side in Aquitaine was fortune adverse. La Roche-sur-Yon was taken by Cambridge and his emprise ; but, as it pleased the God of truth, who never lies, Sir James de Audley, who was of very high renown, died there from sickness, at which you need not doubt, the noble Prince was greatly grieved : for he was a wise friend to him. And then, after a very short time, Chandos also passed from this life at the bridge of Lussac, you may know, whereat was great loss and sorrow ; for

Car moult en estoit esmaïs  
Ly Prince, qui moult fut marris ;  
Mais hom voit souvent avenir 3980  
Que quant il doit mesavenir,  
Li meschief après l'autre vient.  
Beaucop des foitz ensi ayent.  
Toutz les meschiefs ensi sourdoient,  
Et l'un après l'autre venoient 3985  
Au noble Prince, qui gisoit  
Eu lit où malades estoit.  
Mais de tout ce gracioit Dieu,  
Et disoit : « Tout aura son lieu ;  
Si de ci lever me purroye, 3990  
Bien la vengeance en prenderoye. »

*Coment les François se rejoissent moult de la maladie  
du Prince et de la mort de Chaundos et Audelê, et*

---

the Prince, who was much vexed, was sorely dismayed at it. But it is often seen to happen, that when mishaps arise, one follows upon another ; many times this is the case. So then all the evils arose and came one after another upon the noble Prince, who lay sick upon his couch. But for all this he thanked God, and said : « All things will have their place, and if from hence I may rise, I will take good vengeance. »

*How the French were right glad at the sickness of the Prince  
and the deaths of Chandos and Audley, and then the King of*

*adonques le roy de France en manda nouvelles à monsieur Bartrem de Claykyn en Espaigne, et qu'il deust retourner ; et il s'en vint à Tholouse.*

QUANT François savoient que Chandos  
Estoit mort, qui avoit grant los,  
Moult grant joie firent partout  
Et se rejoïssoient moult, 3995  
Et disoient : « Tout sera notre,  
Auxi vray com le Paternostre. »  
Lors fist le roy Charles de France  
Mander sanz point de demorance  
A monsieur Bartrem de Claykyn, 4000  
Qui ot le coer hardi et fyn.  
En Espaigne lors il estoit,  
Là où le roy bastard servoit ;  
Et manda que Chaundos fut mort.  
Voluntiers oÿ le recort 4005

---

*France sent tidings to Messire Bertrand du Guesclin in Spain,  
that it behoved him to return ; and he came to Toulouse.*

WHEN the French knew that Chandos, who had great worth, was dead, they everywhere showed their joy and made great rejoicings, and said : « All will now be ours, as surely as the Pater-noster. » Then the King Charles of France sent without any delay to Messire Bertrand du Guesclin, who had a heart of fine courage. He was then in Spain, where he served the bastard ; and told him that Chandos was dead. Gladly did Bertrand hear the news,

Bartrem, en France retourna.  
Bientost gaires ne demora,  
A Tholouse s'en est venuz.  
Là fut d'Anjou li riche ducz,  
Qui le festoia doucement 4010  
Et moult très-amiablement,  
Et dist : « Dan Bartrem, bien trovez  
Soiez-vous et bien arivez.  
Nous avons grant mestier de vous ;  
Car si vous estez oue nous, 4015  
Nous conquisterons Aquitaine,  
Car ce est bien chose certaine :  
Audelée et Chaundos sont mortz,  
Qui nous ont fait tant de discordz,  
Et li Prince gist en son lit 4020  
Malades, qui poy ad delit ;  
Si que vous le conseillerez,  
Nous sumes touz apparaillez  
De chivachier parmy la terre. »

---

he returned into France. With scarce any delay he arrived at Toulouse. There was the rich Duke d'Anjou, who received him gladly and with great kindness, and said : « Messire Bertrand, well found are you and in good time come. We have great need of you ; for if you be with us, we shall gain Aquitaine : for it is well ascertained that Audley and Chandos, who have opposed us so much, are dead, and the Prince, who little pleasure has, lies on his bed sick. If you therefore advise it, we are all ready to march through the country. »

*Comment monsieur Bartrem s'accorda de faire la guerre  
encontre le Prince, et adonques les François firent  
assembler leur grant poer, et le duc d'Anjou entra  
parmy Crescin, et le duc de Barry et le duc de  
Bourbon chivacherent parmy Lymosyn, et furent en  
purpose d'assieger le Prince, et lors le Prince se leva  
et fist son poair.*

A ce faire bien s'accorda 4025  
Daun Bartrem, qui le conseilla ;  
Et là furent-ils tut d'accord,  
Si come j'oy en mon record,  
Que à deux costés chivacheroient  
Et que le Prince assegeroient. 4030  
Lors fesoient assembler leur gentz  
Assez par milliers et par centz.  
Le duc d'Anjou parmy Cressin  
Chivacha à moult grant trahin,

---

*How Messire Bertrand agreed to make war against the Prince,  
and then the French assembled their great forces, and the  
Duke d'Anjou marched by Quercy, and the Duke de Berry and  
the Duke de Bourbon marched by Limousin and purposed to  
besiege the Prince, who then arose and collected his forces.*

MESSIRE Bertrand, who advised it, was perfectly willing  
to do this, and there they were all agreed, as I  
have heard it reported, to march from two sides and  
beset the Prince. Then they assembled their forces, by  
thousands and by hundreds. The Duke d'Anjou with a  
very great train marched by Quercy ; those of Berry and

Cil de Barry et cil de Burbon 4035  
Ovesque des gentz grant fuison.  
Parmy Limosyn chivacherent  
Tant que à Lymoges se logierent,  
Et quidoient, au voir jugier,  
Venir droit le Prince assegier 4040  
En Anguileme, où il estoit  
Si malades qu'il se gisoit ;  
Et ly Prince fut en son lit,  
Qui pas n'avoit trop grant delit.  
Sitost qu'il en oï nouvelles, 4045  
Qui ly semblent bones et beles,  
De son lit tantost se leva  
Et tout son poair assembla.

*Coment en cel temps le duc de Lancastre, oue moult  
noble chivalrie, fut arrivez en le país et volt aler pur*

---

Bourbon, with a great number of troops, rode by Limousin till they encamped at Limoges, and imagined, to judge the truth, that they might beset the Prince in Angoulême, where he was so sick that he lay upon his bed ; and the Prince, who was on his bed, had not too great delight. So soon as he heard the tidings, which seemed good and fair to him, he soon raised himself from his bed and assembled his troops together.

*How at this time the Duke of Lancaster, with many noble knights, arrived in the country, and wished to go and engage*



*combatre les enemys ; et quant ils en savoient et que le Prince avoit assemblé son poair, les enemys se retournerent et n'oserent pas attendre. Et en cel temps Lymoges fut rendu par fauxeté, et le Prince y mist assege, et le regaigna par assaut, et là furent plusours gentz d'armes et burgeis pris et mortz.*

A ceo temps fut ly riche ducz  
De Lancastre, en qui fut vertuz, 4050  
Arrivés dedeinz son païs  
Et moultz des chivalers de pris,  
Et les vouloit aler combattre  
Pur son noble païs debatre ;  
Mais sitost qu'ils oïrent dire 4055  
Que le Prince, sanz contredire,  
Avoit assemblé son poair,  
Ils s'en retournerent pur voir

---

*the enemy ; and when they knew it, and that the Prince had collected his army, the enemy retreated and dared not await them. And at that time Limoges was given up by treachery, and the Prince laid siege to it, and retook it by assault, and there were taken and slain many men-at-arms and townsmen.*

AT this time the noble Duke of Lancaster, who was right virtuous, arrived in the country, with many valiant knights, and he wished to go and fight in order to conquer his noble land; but they, so soon as they heard that the Prince, without doubt, had assembled his forces, they all retreated,

Et ne l'oserent pas attendre.  
Mais en ce temps, à voir entendre, 4060  
Limoges, la bone cité,  
Fut rendue par fauxeté,  
Et li Prince celle part vint,  
Qui par devant l'assiege tint  
Tant que il le gaigna par assaut, 4065  
Dont moult il ot le coer haut ;  
Quar là fut Rogier de Beaufort,  
Qui de tenir se fesoit fort,  
Et monsieur Johan de Villemur,  
Qui dist qu'il garderoit le mur, 4070  
Et des gentz d'armes bien iij. centz,  
Sanz les burgeois de par dedenz ;  
Mais touz y furent mortz ou pris  
Par le noble Prince de pris :  
Dont avoient grant joie entour ly 4075  
Toutz ceux qui li furent amy,

---

for a truth, and dared not await him. But at this time, the truth to know, the good city of Limoges was given up by treachery, and the Prince came there, and upheld the siege before it until he won it by assault ; in which he showed his high courage, for there was Roger de Beaufort, who was confident that he could keep it, and Messire Jean de Villemur, who promised to guard the wall, and good three hundred men-at-arms, besides the townsmen within ; but all were slain or taken by the noble Prince of price ; whereat great joy had all around those who were his

Et les enemis en avoient  
Grant paour et se repentoient  
Que la guerre recomencie  
Avoient vers ly, je vous affie.

4080

*Coment après ceo que Lymoges fut pris, le Prince s'en revint à Anguyleme, et trova Edward, son filtz, trespasé, dount il fut moult dolentz. Et après ceo s'en vint en Engleterre, et ovesque luy sa femme et son filtz Richard, et moult plusours autres de ses gentz.*

A PRÈS que Limoges fut pris,  
Ly noble Prince de haut pris  
En Anguileme s'en revint,  
Dont autre enseigne ly avint,

---

friends, and the enemies were much frightened at it, and repented, I assure you, that they had again begun the war against him.

*How after Limoges was taken, the Prince returned to Angoulême, and found his son Edward dead, at which he was very sorrowful. And afterwards came to England, and with him his wife and his son Richard, and many more of his people.*

AFTER Limoges was taken, the noble Prince of high price returned to Angoulême, where other news

Car adonc trova trespasé 4085  
Son filtz Edward, son primer né,  
Dont bien fut dolantz en son coer ;  
Mais nul ne poet la mort fuyer.  
Tout ly covenoit prendre en gré  
Ce que Dieux ly avoit doné. 4090  
Après gaires ne demora  
Que tout son arrai apresta ;  
Et en Engleterre s'en vint  
Pur la maladie que ly tint,  
Ovesque li sa femme et son fitz 4095  
Et moultz des chivalers de pris.

*Coment la nouvelle vint en Engleterre que la Rochelle  
fut perdu et le counte de Penbrok pris, et sur ceo le  
roy d'Engleterre fit une très-graunt armée, en quelle  
fut ly tres-noble Prince et maint vaillant seigniour*

---

awaited him ; for then he found his son Edward, his first born, dead, whereat he was very grieved in his heart ; but none can escape death. It behoved him to take in good part that which God had given him. After that he scarcely tarried, but made ready his array ; and came into England, on account of the sickness upon him, and his wife and son and many knights of renown came with him.

*How news came to England that la Rochelle was lost, and the Earl of Pembroke taken, and upon this the King of England mustered a large army in which was the right noble Prince*

*et chivalers de renoun, queux furent sur la mer  
entour ix. semaines, et ne puvoient avoir vent pur  
passer.*

**D**EPUIS fut la novel venu  
Que la Rochelle fust perdu,  
Et si fut pris le noble counte  
De Penbrok, dont home fit counte. 4100  
Donc fit li roy faire une armée,  
Qui moult fut de grant renommée.  
Et là furent tout li baron  
Et toutz les chivalers de noun.  
Ly noble Prince illoc estoit, 4105  
Qui en grant paine se mettoit  
Que armer peust et prendre guerre  
Pur aler socourir sa terre.  
Mais à ceo que j'oy counter,  
Noef semaines estoient sur mer 4110

---

*and many valiant lords and knights of renown, who were at  
sea about nine weeks, and could have no wind to cross.*

**A**FTERWARDS the news arrived that Rochelle was lost, and the noble Earl of Pembroke, much esteemed among men, taken. Then caused the King an army to be collected that was of great renown, and there were all the barons and all the knights of name. The noble Prince was there, who put himself to great pain to arm himself to wage war and succour his territory. But, as I have heard it said, nine

Que unques ne pouroient avoir vent,  
Ains les fallut tout vrayement  
Retourner et venir arriere :  
Dont moult fesoient mate chiere  
Luy roy et le Prince auxi 4115  
Et touz les chivalers hardi.

*Coment le Prince se compleindoit en ses grantz maladies,  
et pria ses gentz prier pur ly.*

O RE vous ay toute countée  
La vie du Prince et rimée :  
Pardonnés-moy s'un poy briefment  
Je l'ay passée legierment ; 4120  
Mais il faut que je m'en delivere,  
Car homme en purroit faire un livre,  
Bien auxi grant comme d'Artus,  
D'Alisandre ou de Clarius.

---

weeks were they at sea, without any wind reaching them ;  
then were they verily obliged to return and come back  
again : at which they were much cast down the King  
and the Prince as well, with all the hardy knights.

*How the Prince mourned in his great sickness, and besought  
his people to pray for him.*

NOW have I told and rhymed all the life of the Prince :  
pardon me if a little briefly or lightly I have passed  
it by ; but it is right that I shall get rid of it, for one might  
make a book of it almost large as that of Arthur, of

Mais pur doner en remembrance 4125  
 De son fait et reconissance  
 Et de sa très-haute proesse  
 Et de sa très-noble largesse,  
 Et auxi de sa prudhommie,  
 Coment il fut toute sa vie 4130  
 Prodhom loialx et catholiques  
 Et en touz biens faire publiques ;  
 Et si ot si très-noble fin  
 En reconissant de coer fyn  
 Son Dieu et son vrai creatur. 4135  
 Et disoit as sons : « Beaux seignour,  
 Regardez ci, pur Dieu merci,  
 Nous ne sumes pas seignour cy.  
 Tout coviendra par ci passer,  
 Nul hom ne s'en poet destourner : 4140  
 Pur ce très-humblement vous pri  
 Que vous voillez prier pur my. »

---

Alexander or of Clarus. But (it has been my part) to give  
 a remembrance and recollection of his deeds, and his very  
 lofty prowess, and his very noble liberality, and also his  
 knightly bearing ; how he was all his life prudhomme,  
 loyal and catholic, and did all for the public good. And so  
 had he a right noble end in remembering in his fine heart  
 his God and his true Creator ; and he said to his people :  
 « Good sirs, attend to this, for God's sake, we are no  
 longer masters here. All must pass this way, and there is  
 no man who can avert his fate : wherefore I right humbly  
 beseech you that you would pray for me. »



*Coment le Prince fit ouvrir sa chambre, et trestoutz ses hommes fit venir devaunt luy, et les regracioit moult noblement de leur service à luy fait, et eux recomenda son filz, qui estoit moult joefne, et ils plorerent moult tendrement.*

**L**E Prince fit sa chambre ouvrir  
Et trestouz ses hommes venir  
Qui en son temps servi l'avoient 4145  
Et qui voluntiers le servoient :  
« Seignieur, fait-il, pardonez-moy,  
Car, par la foy que je vous doy,  
Vous m'avez loialment servi.  
Si ne puis-je de droit demy 4150  
Rendre à chescun son gueredon ;  
Mais Dieux par son saintisme noun  
Ens ès ciels le vous rendera. »  
Là chescun de coer larmoia,

---

*How the Prince caused his chamber to be opened, and made all his men come before him, and thanked them right nobly for their service done him, and commended to them his son, who was quite young, and they wept right tenderly.*

**T**HEN the Prince caused his room to be opened and all his followers to come in, who in his time had served him and served him willingly : « Sirs, said he, pardon me, for, by the faith I owe you, you have served me loyally, and I cannot render to each the half of his right guerdon ; but God, by his holy name, within the heavens will render it to you. » Then each wept heartily, and mourned right

Et plorerent moult tendrement 4155

Touz ceux qui furent en present :

Conte, baron et bacheler ;

Et disoit à touz haut et cler :

« Je vous recomande mon fitz,

Qui moult est joefnes et petitiz, 4160

Et vous pri, si servi m'avez,

Que vous de bon coer ly serrez. »

*Coment le Prince appela le roy, son piere, et le duc de Lancastre, son frere, et à eux recomenda sa femme et son filtz en suppliaunt de les conforter et maintenir; et trestouz ly promistrent de ce faire, et très-grant dolour fut entre eux.*

LORS appela le roy, son piere,  
Et le duc de Lancastre, son frère ;

Sa femme lour recomenda 4165

Et son filtz, que fortment ama,

---

tenderly, all who were there present : earl, baron and bachelor; and he said in a clear voice : « I recommend to you my son, who is yet but young and small, and pray that, as you have served me, so from your heart you would serve him.

*How the Prince called the King, his father, and the Duke of Lancaster, his brother, and to them commended his wife and his son, entreating them to comfort and defend them ; and how all promised him to do this, and there was much sorrow between them.*

THEN he called the King, his father, and the Duke of Lancaster, his brother; he commended to them his

Et lour supplia là endroit  
Que chescun les aider vouloit.  
Chescun li jura sur le livre  
Et ly promistrent à delivre 4170  
Que son enfant conforteroient  
Et en son droit le maintiendroient.  
Tout li prince et tout li baron  
Là jurerent tout environ,  
Et li noble Prince de pris 4175  
Lour rendi cent mille mercys ;  
Mais onques, si Dieux m'aïwe,  
Si dure dolour ne fut vieve  
Come fut à la departie.  
La noble Princesse jolie 4180  
Tiel dolour en son coer sentoit  
Que à poi son coer ne partoît.  
Jà de pleindre et de suspirer,  
De haut crier et dolouser,

---

wife, and his son, whom he greatly loved, and straightway entreated them so that each was willing to give his aid. Each swore upon the book and promised him at once that they would comfort his child and maintain him in his right. All the princes and barons swore all round to this, and the noble Prince of fame gave them a hundred thousand thanks ; but never, so God aid me, was seen such bitter grief as that of the noble amiable Princess at his decease ; such pain she felt at her heart, that it almost burst. With moaning and sighing, crying out and condoling,

La gent avoit un mors si grant, 4185  
Qu'eu monde ne fust hom vivant,  
Qui eüst le doel regardé,  
Qu'il n'en eüst eu coer pité.

*De la noble et devoute repentance du Prince, et coment  
et en quel lieu et à quel temps il trespassa. Et yci  
fine cest livre que retrahist Chaundos le haraude.*

L A eut si noble repentance,  
Que Dieux par sa haute puissance 4190  
Avera de s'alme mercy ;  
Car il pria à Dieu mercy  
Et pardon de touz ses mesfaits,  
Qu'en cest monde mortel eut faitz.  
Et lors li Prince trespassa 4195  
De cest siecle, et si devia

---

the people had such great anguish, that no man living  
could have seen the dolour without feeling it in his  
heart.

*Of the noble and devout penitence of the Prince, and how and  
in what place and at what time he died. And here ends the  
book that Chandos the herald composed.*

THERE had he such noble penitence, that God of his  
great power will have pity on his soul; for he  
prayed God for mercy and pardon for all his misdeeds,  
that he had done in this mortal world. And then the  
Prince passed away from this age, and so died in the

L'an mille ccc. sesze et sessante  
Et du regne le roy, cinquante,  
A Londres, la noble cité,  
Le haut jour de la Trinité, 4200  
Dont il fesoit toute sa vie  
Feste en coer oue melodie.  
Ore prioms Dieu, le roy des roys,  
Qui pur nous morut en la croys,  
Qu'il ait de son alme pardon, 4205  
Et li ottoie de son doun  
La gloire de son paradis.  
Amen ; et ci fyn je lui ditz  
Du très-noble Prince Edward,  
Qui n'avoit unques coer coward, 4210  
Que retraist li heraud Chaundos,  
Qui voluntiers recordoit motz.

---

year one thousand three hundred and seventy-six, in the fiftieth year of his father's reign, in the noble city of London, on the high day of the Trinity, which through all his life he had kept holy in choir with melody. Now let us pray God, the King of Kings, who for us died upon the cross, that he may pardon his soul, and grant him of his gift, the glory of his paradise. Amen ! And here ends the history of the right noble Prince Edward, who never had a coward's heart, that the herald Chandos has composed who willingly recorded words.

*Cy ensuivent les nouns de ceux qui furent les hautes  
officiers du très-noble Prince par ly faitz en son  
temps en Aquitaine.*

S EIGNIOURS, vous aurez oy de certaine  
Du noble Prince d'Aquitaine ;  
Ore vous diray briefment, 4215  
Sanz un plus longe parlement,  
De ses plus hautes officers,  
Lesqueux li furent moult chiers  
En Aquitaine en son temps,  
Desqueux se tenoit bien contens : 4220  
Primerment John Chaundos fut conestable,  
Et après sa mort le captawe, sanz fable;  
Monsieur Gwichard d'Angle fut mareschal,  
Et Estephen de Cosinton, qui ot coer loial;  
Et monsieur Thomas de Felleton, à voir jugir, 4225  
Fut seneschal d'Aquitaine sanz mentir ;

---

*Here follow the names of those who were the chief officers of the  
right noble Prince, whilst he held the province of Aquitaine.*

SIRS, you have heard certainly of the right noble Prince  
of Aquitaine ; now I will tell you briefly, without  
any longer story, of his chief officers, who were right  
dear to him, whilst he was in Aquitaine, with whom he  
was well contented : In the first place John Chandos was  
constable, and after his death the Captal, without fable;  
Sir Guichard d'Angle was marshal, and Stephen de  
Cossington, of a loyal heart; and Sir Thomas de Felton,  
to judge the truth, was seneschal of Aquitaine ; and

Et monsieur Guilliam de Felleton  
Fut seneschal de Peyto par noun ;  
Et après sa mort, come dit le stille,  
Monsieur Baudewyn de Freville ; 4230  
Et après monsieur Baudewyn departir  
En Engleterre, à voir contrir,  
Monsieur Thomas de Percy li vaillant  
Y fut oue honour moult grant ;  
Et de Saintonge fut seneschal, 4235  
Monsieur John Harpeden oue coer loial ;  
Et monsieur Henri de la Hay  
Fut seneschal d'Anguymois, bien say ;  
Monsieur Thomas de Roos oue coer fyn  
Fut seneschal de Lymosyn ; 4240  
Et après son departir en Engleterre  
Monsieur Richard Abberbury, à voir retrere,  
Et monsieur Thomas Wetenale en verité  
Fut seneschal de Roargue le counté ;

---

Sir William de Felton, by name, was seneschal of Poitou ;  
and after his death, as says the list, Sir Baldwin de Freville ;  
and after Sir Baldwin had departed for England, the truth to  
tell, the valiant Sir Thomas de Percy was there with great  
honour ; of Saintonge the seneschal was the loyal Sir John  
Harpeden ; and Sir Henry del Hay was seneschal of Angou-  
mois ; the fine hearted Sir Thomas de Roos was seneschal of  
Limousin ; and after his departure for England Sir Richard  
Abberbury, the truth to say, Sir Thomas Wetenhale in good  
truth was seneschal of the county of Rouergue ; and, if I have



Et si ne vous ai nomé unquore	4245
Le seneschal de Cressy et Peregore,	
Ce fut monsieur Thomas Walkfare,	
Que bon chivaler vous declare ;	
Et du counté de Agenoys	
Fut seneschal à ceste foiz	4250
Monsieur Richard de Baskerville ;	
Et après sa mort, comme dit le stille,	
Monsieur Guilliam le Moigne,	
Car ce n'est pas mençoigne.	
Et de monsieur Guilliam après le departir	4255
En Engleterre, à voir jugir,	
Si fut un bon chivaler	
Monsieur Richard Walkfare oue coer fier ;	
Et de Bigore fut seneschal,	
Monsieur John Roche oue coer loial.	4260
Et le sire de Pyan fut seneschaux	
Des Laundes de Burdeaux ;	

---

not yet named to you the seneschal of Quercy and Périgord, it was Sir Thomas Walkfare, whom good knight I declare; and of the county of Agenois Sir Richard of Baskerville was seneschal at this time; and after his death, as is said, Sir William le Moigne, for this is no false tale. And after the departure of Sir William for England, to judge the truth, the bold hearted Sir Richard Walkfare a good knight (succeeded him); of Bigorre the seneschal was the loyal hearted Sir John Roche; and the sire de Pyan was seneschal of the Landes of Bordeaux; and many other

Et plusours autres très-vaillantz,  
Qui furent adonques vivantz,  
Furent oue loure Prince, à voir juger, 4265  
Lesqueux je ne sai nomer.  
Mais je pri à très-haute Trinité  
Que del alme du Prince avant-nomé  
Et de touz les autres qui mortz sont  
Et qu'en après morir deveront, 4270  
Ait merci à son jugement ;  
Et je pri auxi verayment  
Que as vivantz li plese doner  
Longe vie et bon fin achever.  
Amen, Amen, par sainte Charité 4275  
De chescun en son degré.  
Amen !

---

right valiant knights, who were at that day alive, were with their Prince, the truth to judge, whose names I cannot tell. But I pray the most high Trinity, that at his judgment he may have mercy on the soul of the Prince before named, and on all the others, who are dead, or who shall hereafter die ; and I also pray verily that it please him to give to those alive a long life, and that they may achieve a good end. Amen, amen, by saint Charity, for each in his degree. Amen !

*Cy ensement l'escripture faite sur la tumba du noble  
Prince devant-nommé.*

**V**ous qui passez de bouche close  
Par là où ce mien corps repose,  
Entendez ce que te diray  
Si come je dire le say. 4280  
Tiel come tu es et tiel je fu,  
Tu seras tiel come je su.  
De la mort ne pensois-je mye  
Tant come j'avoie la vie ;  
En terre avoi-je graund richesse, 4285  
Dount je y fis graunde noblesse,  
Terre, maisons et graund tresor,  
Draps, chivalx, argent et or ;  
Mais je suis or poevre et cheitifs,  
Parfond en la terre où je gis. 4290  
Ma graund beauté est tout allée,  
Et ma char est toute gastée.

---

*Here also is the inscription upon the tomb of the Prince  
above-named.*

**A**LL ye that pass with closed mouth by where this my  
body reposes, hear this that I shall tell you, just as I  
know to say it. Such as thou art, such was I, thou shall be  
such as I am. Of death I never thought so long as I had  
life ; on earth I had great riches, of which I made great  
nobleness, land, houses and great wealth, clothes, horses,  
silver and gold ; but I am now a poor wretch, deep in the  
earth I lie. My great beauty is all gone, my flesh is all

Moult est estroite ma maison,  
Oue moy n'ad si vermyn noun ;  
Et si ore me vëissez, 4295  
Je ne quide pas que dissez  
Que je eusse unques homme esté :  
Si sui-je tut en tut changé.  
Pur Dieu priez au celestien Roy  
Qu'ait merci de l'alme de moy. 4300  
Tut cil qui pur moy prieront,  
Ou qui à Dieu m'accorderont,  
Dieu les mette en son paradis,  
Où nul ne poet estre cheitifs !

---

wasted, right narrow is my house, with me but worms remain ; and if now ye should see me, I do not think that you would say that ever I had been a man : so totally am I changed. For God's sake pray the heavenly King that he have mercy on my soul. All they who pray for me, or make accord to God for me, God give them his paradise, where none are wretched !



# NOTES

---

## THE BLACK PRINCE

With the life of the Black Prince by Froissart, by Barnes <sup>1</sup>, Collins <sup>2</sup>, Ashmole <sup>3</sup>, James <sup>4</sup>, and Poittevin de la Croix <sup>5</sup>, before the reader, it is not necessary to swell the bulk of the present volume, by any lengthened account of the actions of our hero, not mentioned in the preceding poem; at the same time an outline of the more prominent features of his career may be useful, as an index more than anything else, to the dates of the respective periods in which they occurred. With this view the following sketch has been compiled by H. O. Coxe, and somewhat enlarged by the present editor.

Edward, the Black Prince, eldest son of Edward the III., and Philippa, youngest daughter of William, earl of Hainault, was born at Woodstock on Friday, the 15th of June 1330, in the fourth year of

<sup>1</sup> Joshua Barnes, *The History of Edward III., together with that of Edward the Black Prince*. Cambridge, 1688, folio.

<sup>2</sup> Arthur Collins, *Life and glorious Actions of Edward Prince of Wales, eldest Son of K. Edward III. and of his royal Brother, John of Gaunt, King of Castile*. Lond., 1740, 8vo.

<sup>3</sup> *The Institution, Laws, and Ceremonies of the noble Order of the Garter*. Lond., 1672, fol.

<sup>4</sup> G. P. R. James, *A History of the Life of Edward the Black Prince, and of various Events connected therewith which occurred during the Reign of Edward III.* London, 1822 (and also, 1836 or 1839), 2 vols 8vo.

<sup>5</sup> *Histoire des Expéditions militaires d'Edward III et du Prince Noir*. Bruxelles, 1854, 8vo.

To these works we may add *The Greatest of all the Plantagenets*, etc. London, 1860, 8vo; and *The History of the Life and Times of Edward III.* by William Longman. London, 1869, 2 vols. likewise 8vo. No authors's name appears in the former; but, in the General Catalogue at the British Museum, the book is said to be « by R. B. Seeley, » i. e. Robert Benton Seeley.

his father's reign<sup>1</sup>. On the 18th of May 1333, he was created Earl of Chester, and upon the death of John Eltham, Earl of Cornwall, by charter bearing date the 17th of March 1337, was further raised to the dukedom of Cornwall, being, as Barnes adds, "the first precedent for the creation of the title of duke with us in England." In the following year, he was constituted *custos Anglia*, on his father's going into Brabant, and held a parliament on the 26th July at Northampton. In the parliament held in May 1343, he was created Prince of Wales. After a lapse of three years he accompanied Edward III. in his expedition into France, and on the 12th of July 1346 received the honour of knighthood at his father's hands upon his landing at La Hogue, and was enrolled amongst the knights of the order of the Garter, founded about two years before. On the 26th of August following, he commanded the van, assisted by Chandos and the Earl of Warwick, at the battle of Crécy<sup>2</sup>. Immediately following this action he laid siege with his father to the town of Calais, and was present at the affray there in the night of the 31st of December. From this period, it being a time of truce, we hear little of him until the naval action off Rye with the Spaniards on the 29th of August 1350. On the 24th of June 1355, the truce with France being expired, we find him preparing for his departure for Gascony, invested as the king's lieutenant with the government of his French possessions. Arrived at Bordeaux, he commenced a series of minor victories; amongst which however are

<sup>1</sup> The scheme of his nativity by Thomas Allen of Gloucester Hall (now Worcester College) may be seen in Ashmole's *History of the Garter*, p. 670. In the Issue Roll, Easter, 9 Edw. III., as translated by Devon, are the following entries:

"29th May. To Thomas Prior, valet of the Lord the King, to whom the Lord the King (for the welcome and desirable news he brought to the same King concerning Edward, his eldest son) granted him, by his letters patent, 40 marks; ste. l. 13..6..8.

"30th May. To Catherine de Monte Acuto in money, paid to her by the hands of William de Northwode, in part payment of 200 marks which the Lord the King commanded to be paid her for the 500 marks which the said Lord the King granted her for the welcome news she brought him of the birth of his son." (*Issues of the Exchequer*, etc. London, 1837, 8vo. p. 143, 144.—Cf. Rymer's *Fœdera*, 3d. edit., tom. ii. pars. iii. p. 69, col. 1). A similar bonus had been given by Edward the II. to the valet of the Queen, for bringing him the tidings of the birth of Edward III. (Ashmole, *History of the Garter*, p. 644).

<sup>2</sup> It has been reported that from his wearing on this day a black cuirass, he obtained the name of the *Black Prince*.



to be noticed the taking of the towns of Carcassonne and Narbonne in the same autumn, and Romorantin in the following spring, which terminated in the glorious victory of Poitiers, when with, comparatively speaking, a handful of men, he defeated the hosts of France, his superiors in number by more than eight times. In May 1357, he returned to England and entered London with the king of France as his prisoner, on the 24th of that month. It will be unnecessary to dwell upon the expedition of Edward III. into France, and the peace of Brétigny, followed by the liberation of John on the 25th of October 1360. The marriage of the Black Prince with the countess of Kent<sup>1</sup>, on the 10th of October 1361, is the next most important point in our hero's life; almost immediately after which he retired to his principality of Aquitaine. The prosperity of the Black Prince had now reached its summit, and he, of whom history records no dishonourable act, was doomed to be the victim of a man as unworthy of Edward's confidence as he was unlike him in character. From his first connexion with the dethroned king of Castille we may date the downfall of the Prince of Wales. The victory of Nájera on the 3rd of April placed Don Pedro the Cruel on the throne of Spain, but left the conqueror without provisions and without money in a climate that laid the seeds of an illness that eventually brought him to the grave. Returning to Bordeaux harassed in mind and body, he passed a few years in directing his government of Aquitaine<sup>2</sup>, and in preparing to carry on the war against Charles V.,

<sup>1</sup> « .... qu'il avoit par amours prise à espouse et à compaignie, de se volenté, sans le sceu dou roy, son pere, laquelle damme avoit estet fille dou comte Aïmont de Kent, uncle dou roy engléz. » (Chron. de Froissart, t. VI, p. 275, § 502.) The case was not new, if it is true "that Thomas Boyerton, sunne to Edward the first, married a meane gentill-woman yn France, at Burdeaux, without his father's counsel for his pleasure," etc. (*The Itinerary of John Leland the Antiquary*, vol. VI; Oxford, 1711, 8vo, p. 21.)

<sup>2</sup> The retaking of Limoges, after it had been given up by the bishop of the same see, who had been the god-father of Edward's eldest son, was almost the only action of note in which he took an active part.

Concerning the management of the local affairs of Aquitaine by the Black Prince, we know nothing more than that we have said in our *Histoire du commerce et de la navigation à Bordeaux*, vol. i. p. 195, 199, 203, note 5, 255, 264; to which may be added two entries concerning the grant of an octroi to the city, *De sex denariis majori et burgensibus Burdegale concessis*, the former in latin, the later in French. (Rot. Vasc. 28 Edw. III. membr. 5, and 49, membr. 1.)

Some authors ascribe to the Black Prince the construction of a beacon known under the name of *Tour de Cordouan*; but they afford no proof to this statement.



the French King, until unable any longer to bear up against the increasing virulence of his disorder, he returned to England, where he died on Trinity Sunday, the 8th of June, 1376.

Line 18. « Li mielre juleor en Gascoigne, » said an old proverb, quoted by Crapelet, p. 89; Chandos herald must have had an opportunity of observing them.

An anonymous one thus enumerates the works of fiction which were circulated in the feudal courts of the south, and interspersed with antics and tricks by « menestrels de bouche et du bas mestier, » as Froissart calls them :

Après si levon li juglar ;	L'us mena giga, l'autre rota,
Cascus se vol faire auzir.	L'us diz los motz e l'autrels nota ;
Adonc auziras retentir	L'us estiva, l'autre fiestella
Cordas de manta tempradura.	L'us musa, l'autre caramella ;
Qui saup novella violadura,	L'us mandura, e l'autr'acorda
Ni canzo ni descort ni lais,	Lo sauteri al manicorda ;
Al plus que poc avan si trais.	L'us fai lo juec dels banastelz,
L'uns viola[1] lais del Cabrefoil,	L'autre jugava de coutelz ;
E l'autre cel de Tintagoil ;	L'us vai per sol e l'autre tomba,
L'us caute: cel del Finz Amantz,	L'autre balet ab sa retomba,
E l'autre cel que fes l'vans.	L'us passet sercle, l'autre sail ;
L'us menet arpa, l'autre viula ;	Neguns a soun mestier non fail.
L'us flautella, l'autre siula ;	

*Le Roman de Flamenca*, l. 584, etc., p. 19. Cf. p. 278 sqq.

North of the Loire, it was the same :

Assés i ot tableterresses	Deus damoiseles molt mignotes,
Ilec entor et tymberresses,	Qui estoient en pures cotes
Qui molt savoient bien joer ;	Et trescies à une tresce
Et ne fnoient de ruer	Faisoient Deduit par noblesce
Le tymbre en baut, si recuilloient	En mi la karole baler, etc.
Sor un doigt, e'onques n'i failloient.	

*Le Roman de la Rose*, l. 756 ; t. I, p. 32.

N'ot menestrel en la contrée	Li uns sible, li autres note,
Qui riens s'eust de nul deduit	Cil sert de harpe, cil de rote,
Que à la cort ne fussent tuit.	Cil de gigue, cil de viele,
En la sale molt grant gent ot,	Cil fleute, cil chamelele.
Chascuns servit de ce qu'il sot :	Puceles querolent et dancent,
Cil saut, cil turne, cil enchante,	Trestuit de joie faire tencent.
Li uns encontre l'autre chante,	

*Roman d'Erec et d'Enide*, Ms. of the Nat. Libr. fonds de  
Cangé, n° 26, Reg. 7498-4, folio 15 verso, col. 1, v. 1.

They afterwards became so licentious in tongue and conduct, that their name was used to express all that was false or of doubtful credit. Another rhymers vilifies thus their character :

Bien doit estre vavassors vils	Ce n'appartient mie à vostre oés
Qui veut estre menesterez.	D'avoir garnement s'il n'est nués;
Mieux vouldroie que fussiez rez	C'appartient à ces jogleurs
Sanz eve, la teste et le col,	Et à ces bons enchanteors,
Que jà n'i remaiesist cheval.	Que il aient des chevaliers
	Les robes, que c'est lor mestiers.

*Du Chevalier à la robe vermeille*, l. 206. (*Fabliaux et Contes*, Méon's edit., t. iii, p. 279.— Cf. p. 283, *De Saint Pierre et du Jogleur*.)

Giraud de Cabreira, in his sonnet remaining to us, abuses his jongleur for playing so vilely on the violin, singing so ill, and having a head thicker than a Breton,— whilst Pierre d'Auvergne, in his satire on the troubadours, speaks of Guillaume Adhémar, as « le plus mauvais jongleur qui fut jamais. » (Millot, *Histoire littéraire des Troubadours*, t. iii, p. 171.). There is a very curious account of the home life of a minstrel, Colin Muset, in the *Hist. littéraire de la France*, XIIIth century, t. xxiii, p. 552; and no less interesting are the peregrinations, in 1384, of a certain Walter « le Herpeur, menesterel et joueur de la herpe, Anglois, » and Felix, his wife, in Secousse's *Histoire de Charles II. roi de Navarre*, vol. ii, Paris, 1755, 4to., p. 494-503. Cf. Yanguas, *Diccionario de antigüedades del reino de Navarra*, t. iii, p. 131, 531.

The name *Felix*, which is not uncommon among the Jews, gives us an occasion to conjecture that some of those *jogleurs* belonged to that nation either by descent or by marriage. See *Henrici de Bracton de Legibus et consuetudinibus Anglie Libri quinque*, etc. Londini, an. Do. 1569, fol., lib. iii, cap. 28, fol. 147 verso.

There is in Devon's *Issues of the Exchequer*, p. 247, an item of a gift to two minstrels from the King of Aragon (15 Richard II.), and p. 452 (24 Henry VI.) similar bounties for others of the King of Sicily and of the Duke of Milan<sup>1</sup>. Price, after having mentioned a gratuity

<sup>1</sup> Such wandering minstrels were by appointment officers to princely houses of Italy, they also belonged to a class of society which was not more respected than our present street musicians; at least Petrarch speaks of the generality of them as a despicable lot of vagabonds. See a letter to Boccaccio. (Rer. Senil. lib. V.— De quorundam ambitione — among his works, Basle, edit. 1581, fol., p. 793. Cf. *Mémoires pour la vie de François Petrarque*, liv. vi; t. iii., p. 654-656, ann. 1364.)

of a pipe of wine to Beatrice, wife of Richard, harper of King Henry III. in the 36th year of his reign, says : “ Beatrice may possibly have been a *jugleress*, whose pantomimic exhibitions were accompanied by her husband’s harp, or who filled up the intervals between his performances. This union of professional talents in husband and wife was not uncommon. In the copy of the ordonnances for regulating the minstrels, etc. residing at Paris, a document drawn up by themselves in the year 1321, and signed by 37 persons on behalf of all the *menestres, jongleurs et jongleresses* of that city, we find among others the names of “ Jehanot l’Anglois et Adeline, fame de l’Anglois, Jauzon, filz le Moine, et Marguerite, la fame au Moine.” See Roquefort, *De l’Etat de la poésie françoise dans les XII<sup>e</sup> et XIII<sup>e</sup> siècles*, p. 288 ; and B. Bernhard, *Recherches sur la corporation des ménestriers ou joueurs d’instruments de la ville de Paris*, in the *Bibliothèque de l’Ecole des Chartes*, t. iii, p. 377-399.

The words *filz le Moine, fame au Moine*, as above, give rise to suspicion, since we read in *Richaut*, l. 928 (*Nouveau Recueil de fabliaux*, t. i, p. 67), that a harlot, having been brought up in a nunnery, had decoyed an abbess and turned *jugleress*.

From the prior’s accounts of the Augustine canons of Maxtoke, temp. Henry VI., and the account rolls of Winchester College, Edward IV., Warton (*The History of English Poetry*, ed. 1824, vol. i, p. 94, 117 ; and vol. ii, p. 153, note) has copied some curious entries, *de Joculatoribus et Mimis*, which complete du Cange’s and Carpentier’s quotations. (*Gloss. med. et inf. Lat.*, *vis Jocularis, Joculator, Ministelli, Tornatrices*, t. iii, p. 896, col. 1 et 2 ; t. iv, p. 413 et 414 ; t. vi, p. 612, col. 2 ; t. vii, p. 210, col. 2.) To conclude, Bishop Percy has a long note upon them, in the first vol. of his « *Reliques* ; » so also Sismondi, *De la Littérature du midi de l’Europe*, t. i, p. 193 ; Legrand d’Aussy, *Fabliaux ou Contes*, etc. Paris, 1829, 8vo., t. i, pp. 32, 33 ; and the Notes 58, 59 of « *Floriant et Florete*, » a metrical Romance of the fourteenth Century, printed for the Roxburghe club. (Edinburgh, 1873, 4to, p. lviii, lx), where is a plate to be compared with an illustration of the Ms. 7189 of the National Library, representing minstrels playing upon musical instruments before King Peleus. (P. Paris, *Les Manuscrits françois de la bibliothèque du Roi*, t. vi, p. 161.)

19. A rogue contents himself with drawing out his tongue half a foot :

Renars li a la langue traite  
Bien demi-piè fors de la geule.

*Renars le Nouvel*, l. 3161. (*Roman du Renart*, t. iv, p. 251.)

In fine, Reynard the Fox is exhibited as having made to Tiebert the cat one hundred « loupes, » wens. (*Ibid.*, i. e. t. i, p. 42, l. 1106.)

Elsewhere some people are represented as jeering at another  
« ... en luy jettant de gros lardons, et tirant la langue en derriere. »  
(*Les Arrêts d'amours*, edit. of 1731, tom. ii, p. 397, arrêt xli.)

See also Wright's *History of Caricature and of Grotesque in Art, Literature, Sculpture, and Painting*, etc. London, 1875, post 8vo. p. 147, n° 97, etc.

20. We do not know in what way jesters imitated slugs; but faces are fully illustrated by artists and writers of the times. In a fabliau the devil makes a grimace by twisting his mouth behind a hermit :

Li deable torna la joe;  
Par guile li a fet la moe,  
Que le preudom ne le vit mie.

*De l'Ermite*, etc., l. 243. (Méon, *Nouveau Recueil de fabliaux et contes*, t. ii, p. 369.)

Another devil of a fellow does the same :

Vers aus se retorne un petit  
Et tret la langue et tuert la joe,  
Et li boulier refont la moe.

*De Boivin de Provins*, l. 150. (Méon, *Fabliaux et contes*, t. iii. p. 362<sup>1</sup>.)

36. So in the prologue of Marie de France :

Ki Deus ad doné en science  
De parler la bone eloquence  
Ne s'en deit taisir ne celer,  
Ainz se deit volunters mustrer.

*Poésies*, etc. Paris, 1820, 8vo., t. i, p. 43.

53. The heroes of ancient history and knights of modern fiction,  
« De coi cil menestrelz font ces nobles romans, » occur frequently in historical works. We might mention Charlemagne, Roland, Olivier and Percheval, referred to in the metrical chronicle of Adam de le Halle, l. 49, 53; but more striking passages are to be found in

<sup>1</sup> Farther oo, we read : « Cele fist molt le grimoart, » which may mean : « This made many faces. » *Du Pescheor de Pont-seur-Saine*, l. 52. (*Ibid.*, p. 473.)

Cuvelier's book, which offers a long enumeration of romantic heroes, to some of whom more than one noble family traced their origin <sup>1</sup>. See *Chronique de Bertrand du Guesclin*. Paris, 1839, 4to. t. i, p. 376, l. 10711, etc.

85. The person selected to superintend the education of the young prince was Walter Burleigh, or Burley, of Merton College, who had been appointed almoner to the Queen.

93. On the death of the Black Prince on Trinity Sunday, Barnes remarks, « which festival in whatever place he was, he constantly all his life held the most sacred and solemn of all the days in the year. In memory whereof his anniversary obit was afterwards appointed to be held at Windsor on the eighth of June for ever, » p. 882.

113. Edward III. did not wait for the death of Philippe de Valois (22 August 1350<sup>2</sup>) to assume the style of King of France, and bear the arms « écu d'azur aux trois fleurs de lys d'or, » quartering them with those of England. Although he did this as early as the 7th of October 1337, it was not until the 25th of January, 1340, the anniversary of his accession, that in dating important public documents, he added the year of his nominal reign over France to the year of his reign hitherto in England. This style was given up 24 October 1360, after the definitive ratification of the treaty of Brétigny<sup>3</sup>.

The Edwards of England inscribed on their coins EDWAR. R. ANGL. DNS. HYB., when, suddenly, the "Greatest of the Plantagenets" altered the legend, and wrote EDWARD. D. G. REX ANGL. Z.

<sup>1</sup> « Adsurge, lector, de Holgerio Dano nosti, si quicquam nosti; ab Holgerio Dano, decantatissimo illo paladino (quem primum de Comitatu Lossensi a Carolo Magno investitum memorant) hunc Ludovicum comitem Lossensem proseminatum scias, ac eadem, hæreditario jure, successisse, » etc. (Rymer's *Fædera*, etc., tomi i. pars 1, ad lectorem, p. xvii.)

Such was the popularity of Ogier the Dane, that it gave rise to a proverb :

Nonpourquant tantost tourne en fuie,  
Sans ce qu'il oit chanter d'Ogier.

*La Branche des royaux lignages*, ann. 1194. (*Chron. nat. fr.*, t. viii, p. 95.)

<sup>2</sup> The image of his burial at the Abbey of St.-Denis is preserved among the *Tombeaux des Rois et Reines de France* of Gaignieres' collection in the Bodleian Library (Oxford).

<sup>3</sup> *L'Art de vérifier les dates*, vol. i, p. 811. — Sir Harris Nicolas, *The Chronology of History*, p. 299.

<sup>4</sup> *Grandes Chroniques de France*, ed. of Paulin Paris, ch. cxxxiv ; vol. vi, p. 218.



FRANC. D. HYB. We may refer to Martin Folkes (*Tables of Silver and Gold Coins*, 1763, 4to.), Ruding (*Silver Coinage*, 4to.), Snelling (*On the Coins of Great Britain, France and Ireland; A View of the Silver Coin*. London, 1762, fol., pl. II), Francis Wise (*Numorum antiquorum Scriniis Bodleianis reconditorum Catalogus*. Oxford, 1750, fol., pl. XX), Steph. Martin Leake (*An historical Account of English Money*, London, 1793, 8vo., pl. II), John Yonge Akerman (*Numismatic Manual*, Lond., 1840, 8vo., p. 311); but it would be more becoming to quote the two following works, although it is requisite to mention Ruding's text : Edward Hawkins (*The Silver Coins of England*, London, 1841, 8vo., pl. XXIII, p. 98); and Henry William Henfrey (*A Guide to the Study and Arrangement of English Coins*, London, 1869, 8vo., p. 8 et sqq.).

Edward III. did more, he coined golden crowns entirely copied as to the type of the face and the reverse, from those of Philippe de Valois, and bearing the legend : EDWARDVS DEI GRA AGL FRANCIE REX. See General Ainslie's *Illustrations of the Anglo-French Coinage*, London, 1830, 4to., pl. II, n° 15. — This coin is of French weight.

The title of King of England and France lasted till the end of the reign of Elizabeth.

James I. assumed the title of MAGN. BRIT. FRANC. ET. HIB. REX, which Charles II continued. The Commonwealth interrupted the mention of *France* : Cromwell did not protect us; but Charles II. was eager to resume all the former titles.

That of king of France remained on money till the end of the reign of George III. It was this prince who in fine took the legend GEORGIUS III. D. G. BRITANNIAR. REX. F. D. (*Fidei defensor*) which has subsisted till now, with the simple change of personal name.

120. « No knight banneret can be made but in the warre, and the king present; or when his Standard royall is displayed in the field. » (Sir William Segar, *The Booke of Honor and Arms*. London, 1590, 4to., p. 69.) See the form of the creation of Sir J. Chandos, by Froissart, in Kervyn's edition, vol. vii, p. 199, 454, and in the preceding poem, p. 3180. Cf. La Curne de Sainte-Palaye, *Mémoires sur l'ancienne chevalerie*, t. i, p. 359, and below, note to l. 193. ✓

120. The writs to the sheriffs, to provide for the passage, are printed in Rymer's *Fœdera*, last edition, vol. iii. part. i, p. 66, in which

the vessels to be pressed (*arestari*) into the service are described as *naves portagii triginta doliorum et ultra, bargeas, fluvos*, etc.

123. Thomas Beauchamp, third earl of Warwick, son of Guy, Earl of Warwick, Marshal of England in 1343; one of the founders of the order of the Garter. Walsingham reports that, by his valour, he greatly facilitated the disembarkation of the English army at la Hogue; but it does not appear probable that any opposition was made to their landing. See below, l. 553, and Barnes, p. 341. He died on his return from an expedition against the Pays de Caux, the 13th November 1369.

125. William de Bohun, earl of Northampton, son of Humphry de Bohun, earl of Hereford and Essex, by the princess Elizabeth, seventh daughter of Edward I. He succeeded to the Garter stall of his nephew Sir Hugh Courtenay, in 1349, and died in September 1360.

127. Robert Ufford, son of Robert, Lord Ufford, admiral of the fleet (Rymer, t. ii. part iii., p. 158, col. 1); on the 16th of March 1336-7, created earl of Suffolk. G. Fr. Beltz has observed that he had seen no corroboration in the public records of the fact of this nobleman having accompanied this expedition. (*Memorials of the Garter*, etc. London, 1841, 8vo., p. 99.) The text however is borne out by Froissart and the Corpus Christi College MS. quoted by Barnes. He was made knight of the Garter in 1348, and died the 4th of Nov. 1369. In the *Issues of the Exchequer*, edited by Frederick Devon, p. 167, is a note of 3000 florins paid to him for his share of the ransom of the Earl d'Auxerre, taken at the battle of Poitiers.

Ralph, first earl of Stafford, son of Edmund Lord Stafford. He was one of the founders of the Garter, and died 31 August 1372. In the Issue Rolls, Easter Edward III., is a grant of £1000. made to him for capturing Burseald, a French knight, in the war in Gascony. (Devon, p. 159.)

129. William, Lord Montacute, second earl of Salisbury, son of William, the first earl, succeeded his father, who died of wounds received at the Windsor jousts, in January 1344, being then in his 16th year, and became one of the founders of the Garter in the April following. He was at Crécy, Caen, Winchelsea, etc. He married Joan Plantagenet, the fair maid of Kent, but was obliged by papal



bull to resign her to Lord Holland, her previous husband. He died 5th June 1397.

130. John de Vere, eighth earl of Oxford, son of Alphonse, younger brother of Robert, seventh earl. He served in Scotland and Flanders, in the 19 Edward III., was retained to serve with 80 men-at-arms, 3 bannerets, 27 knights, esquires and 80 archers on horseback. He was at Poitiers, and died in France the 24th January 1380.

130. On his landing at la Hogue (on the 11th of July) he is said to have fallen, and to have imitated Cæsar and the Conqueror in turning the accident to a good omen, saying that « the land was desirous of him. »

131. Lord John Beauchamp, brother of Thomas, third earl of Warwick, one of the founders of the Garter, was in Flanders 1338, with the King. At Crécy he carried the royal standard, was made captain of Calais, after its surrender, admiral of the fleet and warden of the Cinque Ports ; he died the 2nd December 1360.

132. This is apparently an error for Reginald de Cobham, who was first baron Cobham of Sterborough, son of Reginald Lord Cobham of Orkesden. He was made knight of the Garter in 1352, captain of Calais castle in 1353, (Fr. Rot. 27 Edward III.) and died of the plague the 5th of October 1361. Ralph de Cobham was the son of Henry, half brother to Reginald above mentioned.

133. Bartholomew, second son and heir of Bartholomew, second Lord Burghersh, was in Flanders with his father in 1339, at Crécy, Calais and Poitiers ; and is reckoned among the founders of the Garter. In the Issue Rolls, 9 Edward III. (Devon, p. 141) is a note of L80. paid him in advance on his account as receiver of Ponthieu. He died the 5th of April 1369.

135. Guy, Lord Bryan, son and heir of Sir Guy Bryan, succeeded his father in 1349. He served in Scotland and in Flanders, and was rewarded for his conduct in the night defence of Calais, with 200 marks (Liberat. 24 Edward III. membr. 5.—Rymer, vol. iii, p. 195) ; he was admiral of the Western Fleet in 1356, (Rot. Francie de anno 30 Edw. III., membr. 16.—Rymer, t. iii. p. 328. Also Exchequer. A. R. Navy 604/10, 44 Edward III.) and elected into the Garter on

the death of Chandos in 1369, being called *Guido de Bryan, chivaler*, in an entry relating to his appointment as commissioner *re Ivo Beaustan*, a Breton esquire. (Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. iii, pars ii, p. 1030, col. i. A. D. 1375.) He died the 17th of August 1390. See also *Issue Roll of Thomas de Brantingham*, etc. (London, 1835, 8vo.) 44 Edward III. p. 461, where is an entry of £200. paid him for wages, and as a reward, for 99 men-at-arms and 200 archers. In the Exchequer Rolls in the Augmentation Office, 27 Edward III. is one, containing the particulars of the expenses of Sir Guy de Bryan, knight, and family to Calais, on the 17th of February, and returning the 20th of March. (Exch. A. R. ancient Miscellanea. Nuncii 628/11.) Cf. Luce's Froissart, t. vi, p. xiv.

136. Of Sir Richard de la Vache, or his family, presumed to be of Gascon origin, but little appears to be known. Beltz (*Memorials of the Order of the Garter*, etc., p. 106, ch. xxxi) tells us that he was elected into the Order of the Garter on the death of Lord Lisle in 1355. In 1361, he was appointed constable of the Tower for life, and died in January 1366.

137. Richard, Lord Talbot, succeeded his father Gilbert, Lord Talbot, in 20 Edward III. He served in the wars of France in that year and in 29 Edward III. He died the 30th of October 1356.

139. John, son of Sir Edward Chandos, in the words of DuGuesclin "the most illustrious knight in the world," served in the campaigns of 1339, was present at Crécy, Poitiers, Najera, and fell at the bridge of Lussac, 31 December 1369; he was also good musician, being invited by the King to sing with the royal minstrels. Being already the knight of some fair lady, he was one of the founders of the Garter, and his plate is still remaining in the stall he formerly occupied in St. George's Chapel <sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> See Luce's Froissart, t. iv, p. 91, § 324, and p. 322; and t. v, p. 28, § 381. In Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. iii, p. 343, is a deed of gift of two parts of the manor of Kirkeld in Lindsay to Sir John Chandos, for his good service at the battle of Poitiers.

There is a paper by Sir Samuel Rush Meyrick in the *Archæologia*, vol. xv, p. 484-495, and a more valuable one by Benjamin Fillon (*Londres et Fontenay*, 1856, 8vo. magno, 35 pages), which is illustrated by the signature and handwriting of Chandos, the signet of the Black Prince and James Audley, the seals of John de Creswell, Hugh de Calvile

Sir James, son of James de Audeley of Stratton Audley, Oxfordshire, the friend and companion of the Prince and Chandos, shared in their glory in the French wars, was appointed seneschal of Aquitaine in 1345 (Rot. Vasc. 19 Edward III., memb. 8; Rymer, t. iii, fol. 32), King's lieutenant seven years afterwards (*ibid.* 26 Edward III. membr. 7, Rymer, vol. iii, p. 239), great seneschal of Poitou in 1369, and died the same year at Fontenay-le-Comte, "to the great sorrow of the Prince and Princess of Wales, as well as of all the barons and knights of Poitou," for he was « uns moult sage et vaillans chevaliers. » (Luce's Froissart, t. vii, p. 137.)

141. Thomas de Holland, earl of Kent, son of Sir Robert de Holland; served in Flanders in 1340, was at Crécy and Calais, and died in Normandy the 28th December 1360. He married Joan Plantagenet, grand-daughter of Edward I., afterwards princess of Wales, and in her right assumed the title of earl of Kent in 1358. He was one of the founders of the Order of the Garter.

145. The King's charter upon this occasion demanding the usual aid, printed in Rymer's *Fœdera*, last edit., vol. iii, p. 90, is dated Calais, the nativity of the Virgin, 8th of September, 1346.

149. Roger Mortimer, second earl of March, at this time only 17 years of age, was at the battle of Crécy, in 1354 assumed the title, in the following year was appointed warden of the Cinque Ports and died at Rouvray in Burgundy in 1360. He was one of the founders of the Garter.

151. John of Montagu, nephew, says Froissart (vol. vii, p. 219. Cf. p. 362), of William of Montagu, earl of Salisbury, whom later he was to succeed with the title, was at the battle of Crécy. In 31 Edward III. he was retained to serve the King with six horses. He

Hugh and Geoffrey Worresley, Robert Knolles and Thomas Percy, whose signature is given as that of John de Harpeden.

At the beginning of this century, the name of *Chandos* was recalled on the occasion of a law suit, which made a great noise and gave rise to Sir Egerton Brydges's papers (1822, fol.), and *Chandos Family* (30 pages, 4to., no title. Reprinted from the Introduction to Sudeley Castle); to George Frederick Beltz's *Chandos Peerage Case* (London, 1834, 8vo.); and to *A Letter in a statement relative to the Barony of Chandos, in the Synopsis of the Peerage of England* by Sir Nicholas Harris Nicolas. London, 1841, pp. 14, 12mo.

married Margaret, daughter of Thomas de Monthermer. In 11 June 1369, Edward III. caused safe-conducts to be delivered to John "Montagu, chivaler," and to William "Montagu," esquire, who were on the eve of crossing over to join the expedition of John, Duke of Lancaster. (Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. iii, p. 870.) John of Montagu was summoned to parliament amongst the other barons from the 31 Edward III. to 13 Richard II. in which year (1390) he died.

155. Robert Bertrand, Baron de Bricquebec, was appointed Marshal of France in 1325, and died in 1348. (Anselme, *Histoire généalogique de la Maison royale de France*, t. vi, p. 688, § xxix.)

160. Did we suppose our author to be an eye-witness of what he here relates, his confirmation of the account of the landing, as it has been reported by Walsingham <sup>1</sup>, although evidently from a different source, would present us with a very remarkable difficulty; but as it is clear that in the early part of his chronicle he speaks from hearsay and not from actual observation, we may safely believe from the silence of the King himself and Northbury, as indeed from the prior statement respecting the creation of the knights, and the uncertainty as to the place where the English host would land, unknown until a few days before even to themselves, that the landing at la Hogue was unopposed. At the same time this mention of the Marshal Bertrand, occurring in no other writer, is worthy of attention.

There is a proverbial similitude, « as bold as Beauchamp, » which will detain us an instant. Of this surname there were many earls of Warwick, amongst whom we may conceive, with Dr Fuller, that Thomas, the first of that name, gave chief occasion to this proverb. In the year 1346, with one squire and six archers, he fought against a hundred men, at la Hogue and defeated them, slaying sixty Normans, and giving the whole fleet means to land.

174. Northbury says that a gallant defence was made at the bridge, « et les Fraunceys defenderent ledit pount fortment. » (Robert de Avesbury, p. 126.) See also the preceding letter.

176. Jean, vicomte de Melun, comte de Tancarville, eldest son of Jean, the first viscount de Melun, great chamberlain of France in

<sup>1</sup> *Historia Anglicana*, edited by Henry Thomas Ryley, vol. i, London, 1863, 8vo. p. 267.

1347, governor of Burgundy, Champagne and Brie, was taken prisoner at Poitiers, with the archbishop of Sens, his brother, and died in 1382<sup>1</sup>. See Anselme, *Histoire généalogique et chronologique de la maison royale de France*, t. viii, p. 314. Cf. *Histoire du château et des sires de Tancarville*, par A. Deville. Rouen, 1834, in-8°. (Maison de Melun, p. 154-161); and Luce's Froissart, sommaire du premier livre, t. vi, p. xxvi, note. (Jean de Melun, 1362.) Holinshed says that at Caen he was taken by one named *Legh*, ancestor to Sir Peter Legh, then living, and that for his service the king had given him the lordship of Hanley in Cheshire, then occupied by the said Sir Peter.

177. Raoul<sup>2</sup>, son of Raoul de Brienne, comte d'Eu and de Guines, succeeded his father as constable of France in 1344. On his return from this imprisonment he was accused of "felonie" and lost his head at Paris on the 19th of November 1350. See Anselme, *Histoire généalogique et chronologique de la maison royale de France*, t. vi, p. 161, §. xxi.

180. This should be "not seventeen years of age," but it is so clear from subsequent passages (l. 372, 426), confirmed by Avesbury and Froissart, that by *oept* eight is intended, that we cannot honestly avoid the dilemma.

181. We cannot better illustrate the progress of the army to Caen and the subsequent battle at Crécy, than by the following letter of Edward himself addressed to Thomas de Lucy, giving an account of his proceedings from the landing at La Hogue; the first part indeed agrees with that addressed to the archbishop of York, printed in the *Retrospective Review*, New Series, vol. i, p. 120, whilst the rest agreeing much in substance with Northbury, p. 136, as is necessarily the case in relations of the same events, has yet many variations and is dated on the previous day, it ought not therefore I think to be here omitted<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Barnes and Collins have confounded this nobleman with Charles of Artois, comte de Longueville, who, with his brother comte d'Eu, was also taken at Poitiers.

<sup>2</sup> In the Close Rolls, 21 Edward III., is an order for the closest imprisonment of the Lord of Tankerville, and a similar writ for the comte d'Eu. (Rymer, vol. iii, part 2, p. 116.)

<sup>3</sup> Minot has a poem upon the progress of the army from their landing at la Hogue to their appearing before Calais, intitled :

« How Edward at Hogges unto land wan,  
And rade thurgh France or ever he blan. »

Minot's *Poems*, p. 26-33. Cf. Robert de Avesbury, p. 123-140



« Edward, par la grace de Dieu roy d'Angleterre et de France<sup>1</sup> et seigneur d'Irland, à son chier et feal chevalier Thomas Lucy, saluz. Pour ceo que nous savons bien que vous orretz volunters bones nouvelles de nous, nous fasons savoir que nous arrivames à la Hoge prez Harfluz le dozisme jour de juylet darreyn passé, avec toutz noz gentz seyns et saufs, Ioué en soit Dieux ! et illeokes demurasmes sur le deskipper de noz gentz et chivaulx, et le vitailer de noz gentz, tant que le marsdi prochein ensuant, euquel jour nous movasmes avec notre host devers Valongnes, et preimes le chastel et la ville ; et puy sur notre chymyn fesoms faire le pount de Ove, qu'estoit debrisé per noz enemys ; et le passames, et preimes le chastel et la ville de Carentyne. Et de illeokes nous tenismes le droit chemyn devers la ville de Saint-Leo, et trovasmes le pount Herbert, prez cele ville, rumpu pour avoir desturbé notre passage ; et nous le feismes maintenant refaire. Et lendemayn preismes la ville ; et nous adresceasmes droitment à Caen, sanz nulle jour sojourner del houre que nous departismes del Hoge, tant que à notre venu illeokes, et mayntenaunt sur nostre herbergere à Caen, nos gentz comencerent de doner assault à la ville, qu'estoit moult afforce et estuffé dez gentz d'armes, environ mill et sis centz, et comunes armés et defensables, et maisme trent mill, que se defenderent moult bien et apertement, si que le mellé fut trefort et longe durant ; mès loué soit Dieux ! la ville estoit prigns force au derreine, saunz perdre de nos gentz. Et y furent pris le count de Ewe, conestable de Fraunce ; le chamberleyne de Tankerville, qu'estoit à la journé escriez mareschal de Fraunce, et des aultres banerettes et chivalers environ cent et qaraunt, et des esquiers et riches burgesses grant foison ; et sont mortz tout pleyn de nobles chivalers et gentilshommes, et des communes grant noumbre. Et notre navie, qu'est demurré devers nous, a ars et destruit tout la cost de la mer de

<sup>1</sup> That assumption of the title of king of France occurs in several letters addressed to the duke of Brabant, appointing him Edward III.'s lieutenant and vicar-general in that kingdom and others, all dated on the 7th of October 1337 (Rymer, 3d ed., t. ii, pars iii, p. 191, col. 1 sqq.) It is remarkable that the title above mentioned is not to be found in any other instrument in the *Foedera* until after the 25th of January, 1340. Edward III. did not, it is supposed, assume the arms of France (l'écu d'azur aux trois fleurs de lys d'or) until that year. In *L'Art de vérifier les dates*, vol. i, p. 811, Edward is said to have first dated his instruments with the year of his reign over France in 1339. This must, however, be understood to be 1339-40. Cf. above, p. 300, note to l. 113.

Harflue jousquez à la fosse de Colville prez Caen ; et si y ount ars la ville de Shirburgh et lez niefz en la haven, et sount ars des grant neefs et aultres vesseals des enemys, que par nous gentz c. ou plus. Et puis demorasmes quatre jours à Caen pour vitailer et frescher notre host ; et de illeoques, pur ce que nous esteims certifiez que notre adversaire fut venu à Roen, que nous ne y poymys passer. Et en le mesme temps nous encounterent deux cardinalx à la cité de Lyseux, et s'afforcerount de nous tenir per couleur de traitié pour nous desturber de notre voiage ; mez nous lez rendismes briefment que nous ne lerroms nulle journé pour tiel cause, mez quel hour que raison noz serroit offert, nous ferioms responce covenable. Et, quant noz estoms enformez que ledit pount de Roen fut rumpu, nous nous logames sur la river, devers partz de Sayn bien prez ledicte ville, et ainsi tenismes notre chemyn avant sur ladicte river, et trovames touz les pounts rumpuz ou afforcés et defenduz, si que en nulle maner ne povames passer devers notredit adversaire ; ne il, que nous costea de jour en aultre de l'autre parte de l'eau, ne vouloit vers nous approchier, dount il nous peisa moult ; et quaut noz venismes à Poscy prez de Parys, nous trovames le pount rumpu, et adonque notredicte adversaire estoiet plantez ou tout son host et povaire en la cité de Paris, et sy fist baser le pount de Saint-Leo, que nous ne povems passer à Paris de celui part de l'eawe où nous estoims : pour quoy nous demourames à Poscy treiz jours, taunt pour attendre notredit adversaire en caas qu'il vouloit à nous doner bataille, come pour refaire ledict pount. Et endeintres que ledit pount fut en reparaillant, veint ung graunt povair dez ennemiz de l'autre part l'eawe pour disturber le reparailler dudict pount ; mez devant que ledict pount fust refait, achuns dez noz gentz y passerent au poser ung plaunke, et les disconfirent et occirent graunt nombre. Et quaut nous veismes que notre ennemiz ne vouloit venir pour doner bataille, sy fismes arder et gaster le paiz environ. Et chacun jour nous gentz affair avec les ennemiz et tout fois aiant le victoire, louez en soit Dieu ! et passames le pount avec notre host ; et pour plus attraire notre ennemi à la bataille, nous nous traïames devers Picardie, où noz gentz orent plusors belles journés sour nos ennemis. Et quaut nous venismes à la river de Some, nous y trovames lez pountz rumpuz, per quoi nous nous traïames devers Saynt-Walleri pour passer à ung gué, où la mer foule et refoule ; et à notre venue illeoques, graunt nombre dez gentz



des armés et des communes nous vindrent à l'encontre pour nous defendre le passage ; mez nous preignons maintenant le passage sur euz à force, et parmi la grace de Dieu si passerent bieu mille persons à frount où, avant cez heures, à payn souloient passer trois ou quatre, sy que nous et tout notre host passarems savement et en ung hour de jour, et nos ennemis y furent discomfiz et plusieurs pris, et sy avoit-il graunt nombre dez ennemiz occis à la journée, saunz perdre de nous gentz ; et niesme le jour bientost aprez ce que nous estoms passés, le eawe se monstra del autre part l'eau notredict adversaire ou graunt povair dez gentz si soudainement, que nous n'estoms de rien grevez : pour quoy nous y demouraims et preins notre place, et attendans tout le jour et lendemain tant que al hour de vespre. Et au darain, quant nous voiames qu'il ne vouloit illoeques passer, mez se tourna devers Abbeyll, nous nous traïames devers Crescy pour lui encontre de l'autre part de la fforest. Et le samady, le xxvj. jour d'August, à notre venue à Crescy, notre ennemi se monstra bien près de nous à hour de tierce ou grant nombre de gentz ; car il avoit plus de xij. mille dez hommes-d'armes, desquelx viij. mille furent de gentil gentz, chevaliers et esquiers ; et maintenaunt nous arraimenz nos batailles, et ensi attendimes au pee, tant que un pou devant hour de vespere, à quel hour lez batailles se assemblerent en plain champ. Et estoient le bataillez trop fort et longement duraunt, quar il dura de devant hour de vespre tant que à soir, et lez ennemiz se porterount moult noblement, et moult sovent se ralierent ; ainz, loez en soit Dieux ! ilz furent discomfiz, et notre adversaire se mist en fuite, et y furent mortz le roy de Beame, le roy de Maylocre, le duc de Lorraine, l'archevesque de Saunz, l'evesque de Noion, le hault priour del Hospital de Fraunce, l'abbé de Corbell, le counte de Aleunzone, le counte de Flaundres, le counte de Bloys, le counte de Harcourt et son ffitz, le counte de Saumes, le counte d'Auser, le count de Muntbiliart, le counte de Grauntprée, le viscounte de Meloigne, le viscounte de Coarci, le sieur de Risenbergh, le sieur de Morel, le sieur de Kayeu, le sieur de St.-Venant, et tut playn dez aultres countes et barons et aultrez graunt sieurs, dont homme ne puest savoir lez nommes encore. Et moururent en ung petit place où la primer assemblée estoiet, plus de mille et <sup>ve.</sup> chivalers et esquiers, estre tout plain dez aultres, si que moururent après de tout pars du champ. Et après la discomfiture nous y demourames tout le nut joien saunz boire et

mangier, et le demain matin fut la chace faite, en quel furent occiz bien iiij. mille que de gentz-d'armes que de Geneveiz et aulres gentz-d'armes. Et notredit adversaire après la discomfiture se trait devers Amyas <sup>1</sup>, où il fait tuer grant nombre de sez Genevois, et dit qu'ilz lui traierent à sa besoigne. Et homme dit qu'il a fait assembler son povair de novel pour nous doner autre foiz bataille, et si fioms bien en Dieu qu'il continuera devers noz sa grace en maner comme il a fait tant que ençà. Et si souns ore trait devers la mer pour estre refresshé hors d'Angleterre, aussi bien de gentz-d'armes comme d'artillery et aultres choses besoignables, car le journée que noz avons faite a esté bien loigne et continuel; mez toutefoiz nous ne pensoms à departir du royaume de Fraunce tant que eyoms fait fyne de notre guerre ou l'aide de Dieu. Donné soubz notre privé seel devant Calais, le iiij. jour de Septembre, l'an de notre reigne d'Engletiere vintisme, » etc.

193. Every one knows the meaning of *banneret*. (See above, p. 301, note to l. 120.) There is a little poem called *l'Ordre des Bannerets de Bretagne et leur origine*, etc., first published at Caen in 1672, small 12mo, and reprinted in the same place, 1827, 4to. For a long time that piece of wretched poetry was considered as an historical document, even by Moréri (*Le grand Dictionnaire historique*, t. ii, p. 53), though at first glance it was easy to find out that it was one of those spurious poems forged with a view of illustrating the antiquity of certain aristocratic families. See *Extrait abrégé des vieux Mémoires de l'abbaye de Saint-Aubin-des-Bois en Bretagne*. Paris, 1853, 12mo., preface.

195. John, King of Bohemia, and his son Charles the Fourth, elected King of the Romans the 19th of July 1346. He was crowned Emperor of Rome on Easter Day, April 5th 1355. The crest of the King, three ostrich feathers, with the motto "*Ich Dien*," was adopted by the Prince, and has been since always borne by his successors.

<sup>1</sup> Amiens. Is it generally known that the name of that town was taken as that of a saint on account of the head of John the Baptist being preserved there?

And when he fond he was yhurt, the Pardoner he gan to threte,  
And swore by St. Amyas that he should abigg  
With stickes hard and sore even upon the rigg.

Chaucer, Prologue to the Marchantes 2d Tale.

199. Jean de Hainault, seigneur de Beaumont, de Valenciennes et de Condé. He bore also, in right of his wife Marguerite, comtesse de Soissons, the title of comte de Soissons; he died the 11th of March 1356.

246. Godemar du Fay, sire of Bouchon, a great baron of Picardy. He had with him five hundred men-at-arms and three thousand armed commoners. See Robert de Avesbury, *Historia de mirabilibus gestis Edwardi III. Oxonii, 1720, 8vo. p. 13*). Cf. Froissart's chronicle, t. i, p. CCXII, note 2, and CCLVI, note 1; p. 184, 2nd part, p. 406; t. ii, p. XVIII, note 5.

260. The name of this man was *Gobin Agace*, a peasant who had been taken prisoner. Having forced the passage, the King, Froissart tells us, gave Gobin and his companions in captivity their freedom without ransom, a hundred nobles of gold and a good horse.

285. James II., King of Majorca, succeeded his uncle D. Sancho at the age of twelve years, and reigned from 1324 to 1349. Previously Majorca was in good terms with England, as we may judge from entries published in Rymer's *Fœdera* (Record edit., vol. i, pars i, p. 523, 558—18 Edw. II., 1323, 1324); but during the Anglo-French Wars, James being vassal of Charles V. as lord of Montpellier, was bound to side with him. He was killed three years after the battle of Crécy in an engagement with D. Pedro IV. of Aragon. See D. Vicente Mut, t. ii of the *Historia del Reyno de Mallorca*, en Mallorca, 1650, fol., lib. iv, cap. ii, etc., p. 111-213, etc.; and Colin Campbell, *The ancient and modern History of the Balearic Islands, or of the Kingdom of Majorca*, etc. London, 1716, 8vo., ch. V, p. 178-240. Cf. *L'Art de vérifier les dates*, t. i., p. 753.

334. Raoul, duc de Lorraine and marquis, succeeded his father Ferri IV. in 1329. Champier says of him at the battle of Crécy, that had the rest of the French behaved like him, the English could not have stood before them, « non plus que la perdrix devant l'oiseau de proie. » (*Le Recueil ou croniques des royaumes d'Austrasie, ou France Orientale, dite à present Lorraine*, etc. Lugd. sine anno, small folio, liv. ii., ch. ix. *Du duc Raoul, filz du duc Ferry*. sign. f.) Cf. D. Calmet, *Histoire de Lorraine*, liv. XXVI, t. iii., col. 331-352.

336. Louis, the third comte de Flandres, de Nevers and de Rethel. He was only sixteen years of age at the battle of Crécy; he married Marguerite, daughter of John III. duke of Brabant, and died in 1383.

338. Charles de Valois II. comte d'Alençon, de Chartres, etc., surnamed *le Magnanime*, son of Charles de France and Marguerite de Sicile, and grand-son of Philippe the Hardi. He married, I. Jeanne, comtesse de Joigny; II. Mary, daughter of Ferdinand II. of Spain.

340. « For *Joi* it is probable that *Blois* should be the reading, » so says Cox, and sees in him Louis de Châtillon, son of Guy, comte de Blois et de Dunois, and of Marguerite de Valois, sister of Philippe II. King of France. It is true that in Northbury's letter, ap. Rob. de Avesbury, p. 136-140, and in the poem on the battle of Crécy printed by Buchon, the count of Blois is mentioned in juxtaposition with « le counte de Harecourt » as having then fallen; but between the two words there is too much difference.

340. Jean d'Harcourt and Aumale, hostage in England, gave a power of attorney at London, January 12, 1365. (n. st.) to serve his fiefs in France, and especially in the bishopric of Poitiers. (*La Roque, Additions aux preuves de l'Histoire de la maison de Harcourt*, vol. iv, p. 1435.) In 1367, at the request of the Prince of Aquitaine and Wales, and « parmy l'entreprise et pleggerie de nostre cher et feal Loys de Harecourt, vostre oncle, » the count of Harcourt was permitted to cross over to France and to stay there a few months; but on the 1st December of the same year, Edward III. summoned him to return to London and redeem his pledge. The summons was renewed in January of the following year. (Rymer's *Fœdera*, etc. vol. iii, p. 837, 840.) The same year 1368, on the 14 October, Jean VI. married Catherine de Bourbon, one of the younger sisters of the Queen of France. Louis d'Harcourt, uncle of Jean VI., was viscount of Châtellerault, and consequently, as says Froissart, the most powerful lord of Poitou. Before him, Jean IV., first comte d'Harcourt, likewise viscount of Châtellerault, etc., was at the battles of Montcassel, Buirenfosse and Bovines; he married Isabeau de Parthenay, dame de Vibray.

355. On the battle of Crécy, see Froissart, ch. lx, §§ 274-287, t. iii, p. XLVIII. His account gave rise to a paper intitled: *Mémoire sur le manuscrit de la bibliothèque de la ville d'Amiens, et en particulier sur le récit de la bataille de Crécy*, par M. Rigollot, in the *Mémoires de la Société*

*des Antiquaires de Picardie*, t. iii, Amiens, 1840, 8vo., p. 131-183. Cf. F. C. Louandre, *Mémoire sur la bataille de Crécy*, inserted in the *Revue anglo-française*, Poitiers, 1837, 8vo., t. iii, p. 248; and other dissertations on the same subject by Baron Seymour de Constant (in the same *Revue*, April 1834), reprinted at Abbeville, 1851, 18mo. See also a historical paper by M. de Cayrol, in the *Mémoires de la Société d'émulation d'Abbeville*, 1836, 1837, 8vo., and *Itinéraire au champ de bataille de Crécy*, read at the meeting of the Société des Sciences morales, 2 December 1836, by abbé Caron, and published after his death by Dr. Boucher. Versailles, 1849, 8vo.

On Crécy and Neville's Cross, we will mention also 30 lines published by Th. Wright in his *Political Poems and Songs relating to English History*, etc., vol. i, p. 52, 53; and a poem on the former of those battles, inserted by Gilles li Muisis into his chronicle, and printed first by Buchon (*Collection des Chroniques nationales françaises*, etc., t. xiv, Paris, 1826, 8vo., p. 276-300) and afterwards by J. J. de Smet, t. ii, Bruxelles, 1841, 4to., p. 246-263, of a volume of the *Collection des Chroniques belges inédites*. At the beginning of the poem there is this memorandum: *Notandum igitur quod quidem familiaris domino Johanni de Hannonia, domino de Biaumont, confecit in metro Gallico quemdam rotulum de supradicto bello, et de morte proborum et nobilium virorum, cujus tenorem feci inserere in presenti opusculo, ad memoriam et solamen futurorum.*

363. The historian of the Bohemian language and literature mentions thus a poem in 142 lines on the death of King John: « Cantio, says Lupacius, quæ eo tempore fuit in ore hominum celeberrima. » (*Geschichte der böhmischen Sprache und ältern Literatur*, von Joseph Dobrosky, etc. Prag, 1818, 8vo., p. 133, 134. Cf. *Wýbor z Literatury české*. Prag, 1845, 8vo., p. 1179, 2180 u. ff.)

A rhymier, who knew very well the King of Bohemia, praises him in such terms:

Prend garde au bon roi de Behaigne,	Ala pris et houeuer conquerre.
Qui en France et eu Alemaigne,	Il douoit ses joiaus et terre;
En Savoie et en Lombardie,	Or, argent, rien ne retenoit,
En Danemarche et en Hongrie,	Fors l'honneur: ad ce tenoit,
En Poulaine, en Prusse, eo Cracoe,	Et il en avoit plus que nulz, etc.
En Masauwe, en Russe, en Lestoe,	

*Confort d'amî. (Les Œuvres de Guillaume de Machault, ed. of Prosper Tarbé, p. 103.)*

370. Lord Cobham and Lord Stafford were ordered on this business, and their report was that they had found eighty banners, the



bodies of eleven princes, twelve hundred knights, and about thirty thousand common men. Upon which the king ordered the bodies of the principal knights to be carried to the monastery of Montenay, and there interred in consecrated ground. (Froiss.) The particular attention paid to the remains of the king of Bohemia is also noticed by Barnes, from Villani. See libr. XII, cap. LXVI; ap. Murator, *Rer. Ital. Script.*, t. XIII, col. 948-951.

384. The siege of Calais was commenced upon the third of September 1346, and continued until the following August, on the third of which month it surrendered. (Rob. de Avesbury, *Hist. Edw. III.*, p. 140, 141.) The error of the text is unaccountable, unless we attribute it to the carelessness of the transcriber.

419. « The introduction of a third party, if a third person be intended, into the well-known affair of the design upon Calais, is sufficiently perplexing, » so says Coxe, who did not understand the text.

419. Antoine, sire de Beaujeu, son of Edouard II., and of Marie du Thil, killed at the skirmish of Ardres, A. D. 1351, entered Spain via Montpellier, where he was in January 1366. See Froissart, t. vi, p. LXXXII, note 2, as well as t. iv, p. XLVI; Anselme, *Histoire généalogique*, etc., t. vi, p. 724, § XXXV, p. 733, § x; and Ferd. de La Roche la Carelle, *Histoire du Beaujolais et des sires de Beaujeu*, etc. Lyon, 1853, 8vo. magno, t. i, p. 169-175 (Antoine), 175-191. (Edouard II.)

Froissart, in his *Dit du Florin*, mentions him as being munificent and jolly :

Il me souvenra souvent  
Coment le sire de Biauju  
Antonnes, qui grans galois fu, etc.

420. Messire Geoffroy de Chagny, who afterwards became porte-oriflamme de France, was made prisoner at the battle of Crécy and received in 1350 a safe-conduct to cross over home. (*Rot. Franc.* 24 Edw. III., membr. 2; ap. Rymer, vol. iii, p. 212.) He was killed at the battle of Poitiers, by Lord Reginald Cobham, and buried at the King's expense in the church of the Célestins at Paris.

Like Boucicaut, the little senescal d'Eu, Jean de Saintré, and most of the knights of the time, Geoffroy de Charny was lettered; he is the author of a tract in prose entitled : « Demandes pour le tournoy que je, Geoffroi de Charni, fais à haut et puissant prince des chevaliers de

Nostre-Dame de la Noble maison, » (Galland, *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, etc., t. ii, p. 739) and of verses which are to be found in the Ms. 25447, fonds français, of the National Library, Paris.

421. Almeric, or Amerigo de Pavia, was afterwards appointed commander of the galleys by the King, by letters dated Westminster, 24th of April 1348. (Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. iii, p. 159. Cf. Chron. de Froissart, t. iv, p. xxviii, xl; p. 66, § 304 sqq.)

452. Froissart mentions that the King was struck twice to the earth by Eustace de Ribault, but has nothing of his rescue by the Prince. Walsingham has recorded another anecdote, that the French King in the heat of the action was twice unhorsed by the King of England: « Philippus vero rex Franciæ... dum multos prosternit et perimit, et gutture et femore vulneratus, et bina vice per regem Angliæ equo suo dejicitur. » (*Hist. Angl.*, vol. i, p. 269. A. D. 1346.)

480. The Spaniards under Don Carlos de la Cerda had with forty-four men of war beset the British seas, and shortly before this engagement had taken and sunk ten English merchantmen laden with wine from Gascony. Likely such an act of piracy was the occasion of the naval engagement off Sluys, but it is very easy to understand that the Spanish rovers were very much enclined to scour the British seas, which oftentimes gave rise to very severe retaliation. About 1339, a ship laden with woollen cloth and other goods intended for Bordeaux, having been plundered, Edward III. ordered the seneschal of Gascony to bind all the Spaniards there to repay the loss or go to gaol. (*Rot. Vasc.*, 13 Edw. III., membr. 3. *Pro Petro Garceye*.)

The sea-fight off Rye took place on the 29th of August. Minot has a poem upon it intitled :

How King Edward and his menze

Met with the Spaniardes in the see.

*Poems on interesting Events in the reign of King Edward III.* London, 1795, crown 8vo., p. 45-47.

There was also a gold medal struck in commemoration of this victory, representing the King seated in a ship, holding a sword in his hand<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> All the historians of the time expatiate more or less on the famous sea-fight of « L'Espagnol sur mer, » in which the naval pride of Spain was first humbled by an English fleet, and which vindicated for Edward III. his proudest and best deserved title of the



497. The number of the ships taken from the Spaniards are variously reported at fourteen, seventeen, twenty-two, and twenty-six; Froissart and Walsingham being the authorities for the two extremes.

509. Edward III. sent to his son this account of the naval battle of Sluys, June 24, 1340 :

« Très-cher filz, nous pensoms bien que vous estes desirous assavoir bones nouvelles de nous et coment il nous est avenuz puyz nostre aler d'Engleterre : si vous fesom savoir que le joedi après ceo que nous departimes du port d'Orewell, nous siglames tut le jour et la nuyt suaunte, et le vendredi, entour hour de nonne, nous venismes sur la costere de Flaundes, devant Glankebergh, où nous avions la vewe de la flote de nos enemys, qui estoient tut amassez ensemble eu port del Swyne ; et pur ceo que la tyde n'estoit mie adonques pur assembler à eux, nous y hebergeasmes tut cel noet. Le samady, le jour de Saint-Johan, bien après heure de nonne, à la tyde, nous, eu noun de Dieu et en espoir de nostre droite querelle, entrames eudit port sur nosditz ennemys qui avoyent assemblé leurs niefs en moult fort array, et les-queux fesoient mult noble defense tut cel jour et la noet après ; mès Dieu, par sa puissaunce et miracle, nous octroya la victoire.... Et si vous fesoms sevoir que le nombre des gents-d'armes et autres gents armez amounta à xxx. milles, dequele nombre par eswe cink milles sont eschapées, et le remanant, ensi come nous est doné à entendre par ascuns gentz qui sont pris en vie, si gisent les corps mortz en tut pleyn de lieux sur la costere de Flaundes. D'autre part, totes nos niefs, c'est assavoir *Cristofre* et les autres, qui estoient perdues à Middelburgh, sont ore regaignez, et il y ount gaignez en ceste navie trois ou quatre aussi grandes come la *Cristofre*. Les Flemengs estoient de bone volenté d'avoir venuz à la bataille du commencement, tant que à la fin, issint Dieu, nostre Seignour, ad assez de grace monstré de quei nous et toutz noz amys sumes tutdiz tenutz de lui rendre graces et merciz. Nostre entent est à demorer en pees en le ewe tant que nous eoms pris certeyn point oue nos alliez et autres noz amys de Flandres de ceo que seit affaire. Très-cher filz, Dieu soit gardeyn de vous.

*King of the sea.* We will limit ourselves to referring to the last book on this prince ably compiled by the Rev. W. Warburton, London, 1876, 12mo. See first decade, A. D. 1347-1357, ch. II, p. 149-151.

« Doné sous nostre secree seal, en nostre nief-cogg *Thomas*, le mescredy en la veille saint Piere et saint Poul. » (Jules Delpit, *Collection générale des documents français qui se trouvent en Angleterre*, etc., t. i, p. 67, 68.)

520. Thomas Plantagenet, surnamed of *Woodstock*, youngest son of Edward III., earl of Buckingham and Essex, by right of his wife Eleanor Bohun, duke of Gloucester, succeeded in the order of the Garter, Guichard d'Angle, earl of Huntingdon, in 1380. He was murdered in Calais prison in 1397.

524. Jean de Grailly, captal de Buch<sup>1</sup>, son of Jean de Grailly and Blanche de Foix. He distinguished himself nobly at Poitiers and took prisoner Jacques de Bourbon, count de la Marche and of Ponthieu, whose ransom we find fixed at twenty-three thousand florins. (Compare Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. iii, part. ii, p. 635, A. D. 1362, with G. Fr. Beltz, p. 30, note, and Devon, *Issues of the Exchequer*, Introd. p. xl.) He was one of the founders of the Garter, and died a prisoner at Paris in 1377. He had married in 1350 Rose, daughter of Bernard, sire d'Albret, but had no issue.

538. The leaders of the English party in Gascony in 1347, are enumerated in a letter from Edward III. *Ad nobiles Vasconia, de ipsorum constancia, laudatoria* : « Domino de la Bret, archidiacono de Durford, domino de la Sparre, Arnaldo de Durford, domino de Thouars, domino de Chastileoun, Lespesio de Bearn, vicecomiti de Frounsak, vicecomiti de Benauges, domino de Pomers, domino de Lescun, Johanni Columb de Burdegala, Petro Beger, Johanni Mauleoun. » (*Rot. Vascon.*, 21 Edw. III., membr. 12 ; ap. Rymer, vol. iii, p. 123.)

<sup>1</sup> There are many explanations of that word, upon which Du Cange, *vº Capitalis*, t. ii, p. 142, col. 2, has said all that was requisite. Philippe Moreau (*Le Tableau des Armoiries de France*, etc. Paris, 1609, 8vo., p. 245, 246,) contends that *captal* is translated into latin by *princeps*, and hints that perhaps the dukes of Epemon, having become captaux de Buch, availed themselves of this title to assume that of Princes de Buch ; but in many instruments of the XIIIth and XIVth centuries, occurs the word *captal*, which belonged also to the family of Bouglon, lords of Latrène. (*Rot. Vasc.*, ann. 17 Edw. I., membr. 16, pars 2.)

Another word, no less extraordinary, is also to be met with in the Anglo-French records of Aquitaine and left unexplained, the word *saudan* or *souldich*, borne by the lords of Latrau, or Latrave. Likely enough it is an alteration of *syndic*.

There is, at the British Museum, a muster roll without date, but of the XIV<sup>e</sup> century : « *Ensuent les barons et gentils de Burdegales.*

« Le seigneur de Duras et son frere, le seigneur de la Sparre, le seigneur de Montferand, le seigneur de Mussydan et monseigneur Amaneu de Mussydan ; le seigneur de Castellcon ; le nommé de la Mote ; le seigneur de la Barde ; Ramonet de Sore ; le seigneur de Corton ; Perot le Bearnès ; monseigneur Jehan de Grely ; le viscounte d'Uzac ; le capitayne de Achille (Rochelle ?), le bort de Caumont. » (*Œuvres de Froissart*, publiées par M. le baron Kervyn de Lettenhove, t. xxi, p. 121, 122.)

550. The Prince's appointment took place in 1362. (Rymer, vol. iii, p. 667.) The charter is curiously illuminated. In the upper corner on the left hand are the Prince's arms supported by two angels, and on the right a man is represented in a stooping posture holding over his head a sable shield charged with three ostrich feathers, each having a label, but no motto. The sides of the shield are also supported by angels. Below this drawing is the effigy of another angel, who holds a long scroll in his hand, which occupies the greater part of the right margin, and contains the motto *Honny soit quy mal y pense*.

565. Edward, son and heir of Edward le Despenser, second son of Hugh, earl of Gloucester. He was with Sir Bartholomew Burghersh, in the skirmish, near Romorantin ; summoned to Parliament in 1357, as baron le Despencer, in 1359 on the King's staff in France ; knight of the Garter in 1360, on the death of Henry, duke of Lancaster ; was defeated when commanding the rear-guard of the army at Ribemont in 1373, and died at Cardiff Castle, 11th November 1375. He married Elizabeth, daughter and heir of Bartholomew, Lord Burghersh, and may be reckoned among the benefactors of Froissart, who speaks thus in his *Buisson de Jonece* :

Le grant seigneur Espensier,  
Qui de largheee est despensier,  
Que t'a-t-il fait ? — Quoi ? di-je, assés ;  
Car il ne fut onques lassés

De moy donner, quel part qu'il fust.  
Ce n'estoient cailuel, ne fust,  
Més chevaux et florins sans compte.  
Entre mes mestres je le compte  
Pour seingnour, et c'en est-il uu.

566. Ralph, Lord Basset, grandson of Ralph Basset, of Drayton. He served in the French war in 33 and 34 Edward III., and in the 3

Ric. II. under Thomas of Woodstock, was made knight of the Garter in 1368, on the death of Lionel, duke of Clarence. He died the 10th of May 1389.

567. There is in Rymer's *Fœdera*, third edition, t. iii, pars iv, p. 90, col. 2, a grant of arms to Oton de Maundell, knt. (22 Oct. 1390), and elsewhere a Nicholas lord Meinill, Meinel, Maisnil. (Dugdale's *Baronage*, t. i, p. 735, col. 2; t. ii, p. 111, col. 2.)

570. « Là estoient dalès le Prince et à son frain messires Jehans Chandos et messires Pieres d'Audelé, freres à monseigneur James d'Audelée, » etc. (Froissart, vol. v, ann. 1356. p. 46, § 389.)

579. The men-at-arms, in France as in England, were essentially horsemen, although during some reigns they fought usually on foot. Nevertheless in a manuscript of 1442, the English being still masters of a great part of France, there is a mention of 50 men-at-arms horse and 20 foot for the garrison of the town of Mantes. (Daniel, *Histoire de la Milice française*, etc. 1721, 4to., liv. iv, ch. II, t. ii, p. 226.)

In the poetical works of Eustache Deschamps, one may see personified Vaillance complaining of being neglected nowadays :

Les jeunes gens poursuioient,	Derriere eulx moult volontiers :
Lances, bacinéz portoient	Ainsi adonc le faisoient
Des auciens chevaliers,	Et en cuisine s'offroient
Et la coustume aprenoient	A ce temps les escuyers.
De chevauchier, et veocioit	Puis gens d'armes devenoient
Des armes les trois mestiers.	Et leurs vertus esprouvoient
Puis devenoient archiers,	Huit ou dix ans tous eatiers ;
A table et partout servoient	Es grans voyages aloient,
Et les malectes trousoient	Puis chevaliers devenoient, etc.

La Curne de Sainte-Palaye, *Mémoires sur l'ancienne chevalerie*, 1st edit., t. i, p. 54.

580. In Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. iii, part ii, p. 302, is a writ from the Gascon Rolls, A.D. 1355, membr. 11, *de marinariis pro passagio principis Wallie eligendis*, for manning the ship *La Juliane*, commanded by William Baret, appointed to convey the Prince into Gascony.

603. The Black Prince's treasure was very rich if his purse in certain circumstances was light. His council said to him on one occasion : « Rompez la greigneur partie de vötre vaisselle d'or et d'argent et tresor pour en faire monnoie. » Under the year 1313,

Rymer has printed the catalogue of Peter of Gaveston's jewels; they are numberless <sup>1</sup>.

In Froissart's chronicles, there are, at every step, mentions of jewels which shew how plate and jewellery were usual in the XIVth century, even among inferior classes. In 1330, James Douglas, on his way to Jerusalem, « avoit tout vaisselement d'or et d'argent, pos, bachins, escuilles, hanaps, bouteilles, barilz et aultres si faites choses. » In the account of a succesful expedition in Gascony, the great chronicler says that the invaders had won a great spoil in gold and silver plate, in girdles and jewels <sup>2</sup>, etc.

Knowing the Black Prince's taste for articles of vertu, D. Pedro had presented his confederate with a golden table richly ornamented, the description of which, real or not, occurs in Cuvelier's poem <sup>3</sup>.

In the last volume of his 4to edition of Froissart, p. 279-282, Buchon has published a document of the year 1392, which gives curious details on the state of silversmith-ware in the XIth century and on the value of gold and silver articles. Like most of the princes of the time, the wisest of the contemporaries of the greatest of the Plantagenets was not less fond of jewellery : in proof of which one may refer to a book published a few years ago <sup>4</sup>.

605. The Black Prince did not require to export to Gascony from England such a stock of arms <sup>5</sup>, Bordeaux being, at the time, noted

<sup>1</sup> *Fœdera*, record edit., vol. ii, part. 1, p. 203-205, A. D. 1313, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Froissart, t. i, p. 148, § 70; t. vii, p. 383, § 637. Cf. p. 36, § 19; p. 251, § 1326, etc.; and Luce's *Histoire de Bertrand du Guesclin*, etc., t. i, Paris, 1876, 8vo., ch. iii, p. 60.

In an interesting paper on the home life of a Norman country gentleman in the XVIth century, M. Baudrillart ascribes to a later time the spreading of the use of plate in France. (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, t. xxvii, 1878, p. 165.) It is obvious that such a statement cannot be correct.

<sup>3</sup> *Chronique de B. du Guesclin*, t. i, Paris, 1839, 4to., p. 324, l. 9086. At a later period we see Jacques de Laugua, « marchand et bourgeois de Bordeaux, » lending to « Pierre Dagorondo, marchand de Mauléon de Soule, 5 écus sol, valant 15 fr. 5 s. tournois, sur un carreau d'or contenant 44 pièces. » (Minutes of Donzeau, public notary, 12 juillet 1550.)

<sup>4</sup> *Inventaire du mobilier de Charles V, roi de France*, publié par Jules Labarte. Paris, 1879, 4to.

<sup>5</sup> The exportation of armour was not permitted but by the King's special licence. For the duel between William Douglas and Robert Erskine in 1368, both champions obtained licence to send armour from London to Scotland. The instruments are preserved in Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. iii, p. 838, 840.

The works on ancient armour are numerous. After Grose and Sir Samuel Rush Meyrick,



for its armour of all description. See our *Histoire du commerce et de la navigation à Bordeaux*, etc., t. i, ch. xiii, p. 315, 316; and Luce's *Histoire de Bertrand du Guesclin*, t. i, p. 452, note 1, where is a mention of a « fer de lance de factura Burdegalis. » (Arch. Nat., sect. jud. xi<sup>a</sup> 19, fol. 300.) In 1867, M. Ernest Gaullieur, the keeper of the city records of Bordeaux, has printed for private circulation an interesting paper on *l'Armurerie milanaise à Bordeaux au quinzième siècle*, which was reissued in 1875 at the end of a pamphlet, 8vo., intitled : *Les Gascons et l'artillerie bordelaise au siège de Fontarabie (1521 à 1524)*.

Neither Chandos Herald nor Froissart mention the intervention of ordnance in the wars of Edward III. and of the Black Prince. One historian only (Villani,) and he an Italian, wishing to account for the defeat of the Genoese, lays stress upon the fact of the employment of cannon at Crécy.

There are very interesting notices of the early use of guns and gunpowder (c. 1353) in the English army, by the Rev. Joseph Hunter in the *Archæologia*, vol. xxxii, p. 380-387, and by Joseph Burtt, in the *Archæological Journal*, etc., vol. xix, London, 1862, p. 68-75. One of those scholars has found in a book of accounts of money paid out of the King's chamber, from December 25, 18 Edward III., 1344, to the 18th of October, 1347, sundry payments for things provided for the King's use, as « huces » for the *balistæ*, leathern cases for bows and arrows, a tent for the King's own use, and other things connected with affairs of war, and in the midst of them occurs the following pertinent entry : « Eidem Thomæ (Roldeston) super facturam pulveris pro ingeniis, et emendationem diversarum armaturarum, xl. sol. » *Pulvis pro ingeniis*, when instruments of war are the subject, can scarcely be any thing but gunpowder; and, when we find that there was money paid for a tent which was intended especially for the King's own use, we cannot hardly doubt, though the account extends over three years, 1344 to 1347, that these payments were made before the departure of the expedition of 1346, and in contemplation of it.

The Rev. Joseph Hunter ends his communication to the Society of

John Hewitt has published in the *Gentleman's Magazine* (July to December 1858, p. 319-99-211-323-436-548; and January to June inclusive, p. 3-123-235-247, 459-575-592) an elaborate treatise, reprinted in three vols. 8vo. at Oxford, 1855-60.

Antiquaries of London with an entry concerning the ammunitions of the castle of Carisbrook in 1379, forgetting that there is an earlier item in the reign of Richard II. dated 16 March 1377-81: « *De Ingeniis vocatis canons, et aliis providendis pro castro de Brest.* » (French Rolls, 1 Rich. II. part 2, membr. 15.) To the above references we should add a capital paper by the late Léon Lacabane : *De la Poudre à canon et de son introduction en France*, in the *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes*, t. 1st, 2nd series, p. 45-47.

623. Bernard-Ezy, sire d'Albret and viscount of Tartas, who died in 1358. He was left by the Prince his lieutenant in Gascony, upon his first expedition into Quercy and Auvergne.

624. Aimery de Biron, seigneur de Montferrant, swore fealty to the Black Prince, 24th February 1355. In 1373, he was appointed the King's lieutenant in Aquitaine, and in 1375 with the sire de Mussidan, one of the guardians of the treaty between France and England in Périgord. His will is dated 13th December 1384. (Anselme, *Hist. gén.*, etc., t. vii, p. 353.) This and the following Gascon knights are mentioned again below at the battle of Poitiers.

624. Raimond de Montant, seigneur de Mussidan, de Montendre, etc., one of the forty-one esquires of the company of Bertrand de Terride (See Anselme, t. vii, p. 603); whose daughter Rosine is mentioned by the same compiler, t. iv, p. 448, as the wife of Gny de la Rochefoncauld. He married Marguerite, daughter of Bérard d'Albret, seigneur de Verteuil, and retained still at the end of 1369 the castellany of Aubeterre (Charente, arrond. de Barbezieux). By a deed dated Toulouse, November of that year, Louis, duke of Anjou, gave to Hélie de Labatut, son and heir of master Pierre de Labatut, the King's secretary, 200 pounds torneses out of the revenues of certain parishes of the castellany of Aubeterre, forfeited *per ipsius Edouardi et domini de Muscidano et aliorum sibi adherencium rebellionem*. (Arch. Nat., jj. 100, n° 764.) The Lords de Mussidan, Langoiran, Duras and Ranzan, are mentioned by Froissart amongst the Gascon lords joining Sir Thomas Felton for the relief of Thouars; afterwards they were taken prisoners before Bergerac in company with their leaders. The two former then joined the party of the duke of Anjou, and are mentioned by Froissart as distinguishing themselves at the assault on Duras.



626. The family name of the barons de Rauzan and du Thil was *Angevin*, which may be a clue to their origin. See among the land-registers of Guienne preserved with those of the department of Gironde at Bordeaux, that of the seigneurie du Thil, E. n<sup>o</sup> 133.

The daughter of a Jacques Angevin, sieur de Rauzan, is mentioned by Father Anselme (*Hist. gén.*, etc., t. v, p. 734) as the wife of Jean de Beaufort, in 1480.

626. He is called by Froissart *Curton*, and afterwards Sir *Petiton de Courton*. He was, with Sir W. Hewet and Faringdon, defeated before Soubise by Evan of Wales, and with difficulty escaped into the town. In Rymer's *Fædera*, t. iii, p. 1061, A. D. 1376, is a charter addressed to Arnald sire de Curton, and other Gascon lords.

627. Amanieu de Faussart is mentioned on the side of England in the truce of Calais, 1350. (Rymer's *Fædera*, vol. iii, p. 197.) Fossard is again recorded at Poitiers. See vers. 1323.

628. Probably the same with Guilhem-Sans, the lord de Pommier, or Pommiers, to whom a writ is addressed by Edward as a knight of Poitou, respecting the marshal Boucicault, and also mentioned as one of the parties on the Prince's behalf in the peace of Bordeaux, 1357, ap. Rymer, vol. iii, p. 348. In 1358, Don Pedro IV. King of Aragon, being at Girona, engaged to his service « Aymerique, vizconde de Narbona, y á Juan de Grilli, capdal de Buyg, y á Arnaldo, y á Beltran de España, y á 'N Ayquen Guillen de la Esparra, á Guillen de Pomer, y Arnaldo de Rocafull, y el vizconde de Orta<sup>1</sup>, » etc. (Zurita, *Libro IX de los Anales de la corona de Aragon*, cap. xvi; t. ii, p. 289, col. 1.) At the time Cuilhem-Sans seems to have been in favour with Edward III. (Carte, *Catal. des Rolles gascons*, t. i, p. 140.) There was also a Lord Pomiers, according to Froissart, beheaded for treason at Bordeaux. See also the Gascon Roll of Richard II. membr. 16-19. (*Processus iudicii redditus contra Willelmum Sans, dominum de Pomers, pro prodicione in curia Vasconie, et de castris et terris suis satisfactis ad dominum regem.*)

630. Amongst so many of the same name it is difficult to decide

<sup>1</sup> To this list we may add the count of Foix, cousin of the capdal de Buch, with whom he had made war in Prussia, and Roger Bernard de Foix, viscount of Castetbon. (*Ibid.*, cap. iii, fol. 272 v<sup>o</sup>, col. 2, and cap. vii, fol. 276 r<sup>o</sup>. Cf. Froissart, t. v, p. 102, l. 17.)

as to which may be the individual in question. The most probable, however, appears to be either a Cenebrun de Lesparre <sup>1</sup>, married in 1331 to a sister of the captal de Buch, (Anselme, *Hist. gén.*, etc., t. iii, p. 369 ; see also Rymer, t. iii, p. 26) or a Bernard, seigneur de Lesparre, the uncle of Sybille, wife of Gaston de Gontaut, baron de Biron (*Ibid.*, t. vii, p. 301, § viii). In Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. iii, pars ii, p. 1028, col. 1, and 1030, col. 1, are two charters addressed to Lord de Lesparre upon the government chiefly of the city of Bordeaux <sup>2</sup>, and at p. 1061 is another addressed to Bernard de Lesparre, Arnald, sire de Curton, and other lords of Gascony respecting the payment of ransom for prisoners.

It would seem, from the Gascon Rolls, that Cenebrun IV. had more than one son, since there is in those scrolls a mention of a son of the Lord of Lesparre, named *Ayquem-Guilhem*, who, at the battle of Poitiers, had been taken prisoner by Ives de Kerembars, a Breton esquire. The latter having set him at liberty on parole, and being unable to obtain either answer or ransom, applied to the King of England, who ordered the seneschal of Gascony to interfere and do justice to the Breton, according to the law of war, *juxta legem armorum*. Was this Ayquem-Guilhem an elder son of Cenebrun, who died

<sup>1</sup> Cenebrun, *Swarthy complexion*.

<sup>2</sup> Florimond de Lesparre had been elected governor of the city by public poll, *regidor de la ciutat por la eleccion deu poblè*. In 1375, K. Edward III., willing to restore the authority of laws and put a stop to the incredible excesses to which Bordeaux was a prey for a long time, being threatened by anarchy inside and enemy outside, intrusted Florimond with the hard task of restoring both concord and security among the citizens by the reform of its legislation. (Rabanis, *Revue du droit français et étranger*. Paris, 1861, 8vo., p. 490.)

There is in the Cottonian Library, Vespasianus XIII, art. 24, fol. 19, a letter from « Le sire de Lesparre et de Roazan, » governor of Bordeaux, to an anonymous friend, recommending a squire of the writer, Gallyart de Marraben. Bordeaux, Aug. 20. This letter, being original, has no other claim upon public attention than it is written on paper at a time where notes of that kind, as well as rolls and registers of public accountants, were couched on parchment or vellum. The disquisition of that interesting subject gave rise to a dissertation, which deserves to be pointed out as connected with the history of the domestic annals of Aquitaine under the English rule. After having quoted a number of registers of the *comptable* of Bordeaux, and reproduced the paper marks from 1330, the author offers only two general remarks on this exhibition to shew either that the English received their paper from Bordeaux, or that Aquitaine and England were supplied from the same market. (*Specimens of Marks used by the early Manufactures of Paper*, etc. by Joseph Hunter. — *Archæologia*, vol. xxxvii, p. 447-454.)

before his father, or was he a puisne of Florimont who did not leave offspring? We cannot guess; but there is a conjecture more grounded perhaps than the former: it is that Cenebrun's son was no other than the *bour* (bastard) de Lesparre, whom Froissart speaks of in many places in the years posterior to the battle of Poitiers. The adventurous and disorderly life which this bastard seems to have led might explain why he was so unscrupulous or unable to keep his word. Froissart names the *bour* de Lesparre among the chiefs of the Great Companies who, the first time in 1366, helped D. Enrique de Trastamare to dethrone Don Pedro el Cruel. He undertook this campaign with the assent of the Black Prince, and hastened to come back to Aquitaine when he was aware that King Edward's son and lieutenant had promised his help to Don Pedro, and that the new plan was to pull down from the throne the sovereign for whom he had just fought. See J. Rabanis, *Notice sur Florimont, sire de Lesparre, suivie d'un précis historique sur cette seigneurie*, etc. Bordeaux, 1843, 8vo., p. 50, 51<sup>1</sup>. — Cf. on Florimont, Devon, *Issues of the Exchequer*, p. 223.

647. Beziers is not mentioned by name either by the Prince or John de Wyngfield in their letters, as given by Robert d'Avesbury (*Hist. Edwardi III.*, p. 213-228); but the latter speaks of having taken many other towns, amongst which Beziers is probably to be included.

678. The Gascon lord mentioned here is enough known to require a memoir of his life. Jean de Grailly, capital de Buch and viscount of Benauges and Castillon, died in 1377, after having made his will, preserved in the XL1st volume of Doat's collection (Nat. Libr.), fol. 197 recto and sqq. By that instrument, he bequeaths many pious legacies, appoints his heir Archambaud de Grailly, and his executors Gaston, comte de Foix, his cousin, Florimont, seigneur de Lesparre, Elie de Pomiers, Amanieu de Balhade, Pierre-Arnaud de Lannemezan, knights, the archbishop of Bordeaux, and others named therein. Date: 6 March 1368.

713. Jean le Meingre, dit Boucicault, écuyer of the duchy of Touraine; he was engaged in the wars of Gascony in 1337, afterwards in Flanders in 1338, 1340, in which year he was at the battle of Bovines; he also served under the sire de Craon, in 1357.

<sup>1</sup> Extracted from the *Actes de l'académie de Bordeaux*, 1843, p. 96-167.

he obtained a safe-conduct for Santiago de Compostela and for the Holy Land. (*Rot. Franc.*, 28 Edw. III., membr. 9; ap. Rymer, vol. iii, p. 271. Cf. 257 — 31 Edw. III., membr. 15, — and p. 654 Edw. III., membr. 9.) After the death of Jean de Clermont, marshal of France, he was raised to that office. He died at Dijon, 15th March, 1367. In the Issue Roll, 40 Edward III. is an entry of the sum of L285. 14s. 2d. in money lately received by assignment made to him for the ransom of the King of France. (Devon, *Issues of the Exchequer*, etc. London, 1837, 8vo., p. 189.)

The biographer of Jean Boucicaut II. says of the father that he was « moult preud'homme et de grand sçavoir, et toute sa vie et temps employa en la poursuite d'armes, et, à l'exemple des vaillans anciens, qui ainsi le feirent, ne lui chailloit de tresor amasser, ne de quelconques choses fors d'honneur acquerir; pour lesquels biens faicts et sa vaillance et preud'homme au temps des grandes guerres en France, au vivant du chevalereux roy Jehan, fut faict mareschal de France... et toujours sera le vaillant mareschal Boucicaut <sup>1</sup>. »

714. Amaury, sire de Craon, de Sainte-Maure, etc. He had the government of Saintonge, Poitou, Anjou and basse Normandie. He is spoken of in different charters frequently as prisoner between the years 1357-1360, where he became one of the hostages for the preservation of the peace of Brétigny. (Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. iii, p. 537, etc.) In 36 Edw. III. (*Issues of the Exchequer*, p. 177), is an entry by which it appears that with the comte de Sancerre and the King of France, he had been sold to Edward III. for the sum of twenty thousand pounds. He died 30th May, 1371.

749. Jean de Noyers, son of Miles, comte de Joigny, served under the duke of Normandy in 1346 with four knights and 26 esquires. He died the 10th of May, 1361. In the *Issues of the Exchequer*, 35 Edw. III. p. 174, is notice of a payment of L158. 7s. 6d. to Arnould-Reymond, viscount d'Anoita, part payment of 15,000 florins, which the Prince had agreed to pay for the count, his prisoner.

750. Froissart calls him « le comte d'Auxerre » (son of Jean de Châlon, comte d'Auxerre, slain at Crécy). There is in the *Issues of the*

<sup>1</sup> *Livre des faits du mareschal de Boucicaut*, ch. III; in Petitot's *Collection complète des Mémoires relatifs d'histoire de France*, etc., t. vi, p. 379.

*Exchequer*, p. 168, 32 Edw. III. an entry of a payment of £562. 10s. paid Lord Suffolk for part of the ransom of the comte « d'Aussore, » taken at Poitiers.

762. In a collection of papers, most of which, still existing, appear to be originals (Cottonian Library, Vespasian, F. XIII., art. 4, fol. 8), there is a letter, on which is written at the right hand in the bottom corner, low down : « De part le cardinal de Pierigeur. » It is dated « Milan, 6 August, » and seems to be directed to King Edward III.

766. The amanuensis of the Worcester College manuscript, like the ape who mistook the Pireus for the name of a man<sup>1</sup>, has written twice, in the poem as well as in the rubric, *Brismos* two words in one, believing probably that it was the name of some castle, or house, in the neighbourhood of the fields of Beauvoir and Maupertuis, where the French King was encamped; but Coxe had the luck to shun the blunder and glance at the real meaning.

*A briefs mos* is one of those common-place expressions so often used by Froissart : « Briefment à parler. » (t. i, p. 128, l. 19, § 59; t. ii, p. 179, § 180.) — « Pourquoi feroi-je lonc sermon, » etc. (*Ibid.*, p. 145, § 145); « Que vous feroi-je loin compte ? plus loing compte ? (*Ibid.*, p. 411, § 65; t. ii, p. 100, § 144; et p. 291. Cf. t. iv, p. 189, § 367; t. v, p. 320.) « Que vous feroi-je lonch parlement ? lonch recort ? (*Ibid.*, t. iii, p. 71, § 221; t. v, § 431. Cf. t. vi, p. 69, § 495; t. vii, p. 319, 363); « A brief parole. » (*Ibid.*, t. iv, p. 49.) etc.

767. See Froissart's chronicle, t. v, p. 13, § 375, etc. and p. 255. Talleyrand, son of Elias, count of Périgord, abbot of la Chancelade, was bishop of Auxerre, cardinal-priest of St. Peter *ad Vincula* under the title of *Eudoxia*, then bishop of Albano. He died at Avignon the 17th of January, 1364. Vide François Duchesne, *Histoire de tous les cardinaux françois de naissance*, etc., liv. ii, ch. LXXVI; t. i, p. 465-470; D. Ciaconio, *Vitæ et Res gestæ pontificum Romanorum*, etc. Romæ, 1677, fol., vol. ii, col. 432; and *Gallia christiana*, t. ii, col. 836, B, et 151, D.

In an entry of November 1356, Philippe de Valois, selling to Talleyrand, cardinal of Périgord, the lands of Auberoche and of the Bastide de Bonneval, calls him « dearest. » See Bertrand, *Etude sur les chroniques de Froissart*, p. 106.

<sup>1</sup> La Fontaine, liv. iv, fable 7.



In the *Issues of the Exchequer*, 32 Edw. III. is a notice of *L13. 6s. 8d.* paid to an esquire of the cardinal for bringing a charger, a present from that dignitary to the King.

865. The account of the interviews of the cardinal are somewhat differently reported by Froissart and Barnes, (from Villani,) with which the version of our author should be compared.

868. Guillaume V., son of Jean, comte de Tancarville, was elected to the see of Sens in 1346 or 1347, and died in 1376. (*Gallia christiana*, t. xii, col. 74-78.) He was the brother of the comte de Tancarville, taken also at the battle of Poitiers. The archbishop is said to have been the prisoner of the earl of Warwick, who received eight thousand pounds for his ransom. In Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. iii, p. 644, 647, A. D. 1362, are two extracts from the Patent and French Rolls, entitled: *Pro archiepiscopo de Seintz, de acquietantia*, in which the price of his ransom is stated. — Coxé has confounded that warlike prelate with Jean de Mello, de Merlo, or de Melloto, elected bishop of Chalons in 1354. (*Gallia christiana*, t. ii, col. 289, D. ; and t. iv, col. 921, 922.)

869. Jean de Talaru, great *custos*, canon and count, afterwards archbishop, of Lyon. (François Duchesne, *Histoire de tous les cardinaux françois de naissance*, etc., l. ii, ch. CLXXVII, p. 705, 706. Cf. *Gallia christiana*, t. iv, col. 170-172.)

870. Jean de Clermont, seigneur de Chantilly, made marshal of France in 1352, on the death of Guy de Nesle. He was buried in the church of the Dominicans at Poitiers. (Jean Bouchet, *Les Annales d'Aquitaine*, etc. Poitiers, 1634, 4to., p. 204.) Cf. Anselme, *Hist. général.*, etc., t. vi, p. 56, § IX.

939. Arnould d'Andrehem was made governor of Angoulême in 1343, taken prisoner in Gascony in April, 1351, and on his release, in August in the same year, raised to the dignity of marshal of France. He was taken again at Poitiers, and ransomed in 1360. In 1367, he was again taken at the battle of Najera, after which and a trial before the victors on accusation of breach of parole<sup>1</sup>, he was exchanged for

<sup>1</sup> « Como fueron traídos otro día despues de la batalla delante del Rey Don Pedro é del Príncipe todos los que fueron presos : é como el mariscal de Audenehan se escusó de lo que el Príncipe le acusaba. » (*Crónica de D. Pero Lopez de Ayala*, año diez é ocho de D. Pedro, cap. xiii, t. i, p. 458. Madrid, 1779, 4to.)

Sir Thomas Felton ; being now far advanced in age, he resigned the office of marshal and received that of porte-oriflamme. He died in December 1370. See Luce's Froissart, vol. v, p. 20, note 2 ; and vi, p. xiv.

942. Gautier, comte de Brienne, duc d'Athènes. He was engaged in the wars of 1339, 1340. In 1341, being summoned to his government of Florence, he refused to return to Italy, and was in 1356 raised by King Jean to the dignity of constable of France. He was buried in the abbey of Beaulieu in Brienne. Anselme has given the inscription on his monument, *Hist. généal.*, t. vi, p. 165, § xxiv.

959. Charles the Dauphin, duke of Normandy, eldest son of Jean, King of France ; he acted as regent during his father's imprisonment, and at his death succeeded to the throne as Charles V.

964. Jacques, duc de Bourbon, comte de la Marche and of Ponthieu. He had been wounded at Crécy ; was made constable of France in 1354, and was mortally wounded in action against the Tards-Venus, near Lyons, in April, 1361, where he died. It appears from the *Issues of the Exchequer*, 32 Edw. III., p. 168, that he was the prisoner of the captal de Buch. Cf. *Liberate*, 35 Edw. III., membr. 2 ; ap. Rymer, vol. iii, p. 519, 863, 875.

966. Guillaume de Nesle, sire de Saint-Venant ; he married Alice, dame of that barony. With the sires de Bodenay and de Lendas, he was appointed guardian of Charles the Dauphin, and fled with him from the field of battle. His name occurs in Rymer, vol. iii, p. 490, 604, 700, 702, and elsewhere, as one of the hostages for the King of France.

968. Jean, sire de Maignelay, dit *Tristan*, chevalier and échançon de France ; he was the prisoner of Thomas de Walkfare (*Rot. Fr.* 31 Edw. III., 1357, membr. 12) and was obliged to mortgage nearly all his lands to pay his ransom. He returned with the King from England in 1363. (Anselme, *Hist. généal.*, etc., t. viii, p. 540, § III.)

999. Philippe, duc d'Orléans, youngest son of Philippe de Valois and Jeanne de Bourgogne. He died without legitimate issue, the 15th September 1375.

1025. Jean d'Artois, comte d'Eu, received the title in 1350, when it was confiscated under Raoul de Brienne, mentioned by Anselme, t. vi,



p. 126, § xx; he was the son of Robert d'Artois, comte de Beaumont-le-Roger. He died in 1387. His quittance, with that of his brother, and the rest of the prisoners taken at Poitiers, in 1360, may be seen in Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. iii, p. 539.

1026. Charles d'Artois, brother of the above. Having incurred the displeasure of King Jean, and having been confined in gaol, he was in favour again, present at the battle of Poitiers and there made prisoner of war. In 1363, his comté of Longueville was given by Charles V. to Bertrand du Guesclin.

1028. There is no mention elsewhere of a Robert d'Artois being at Poitiers. The well known Lord Robert having been wounded at the taking of Vannes, died in 1342, between October 6 and November 20. (Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. ii, p. 1212 and 1215.) Jean le Bel (*Chron.*, t. ii, p. 13) and Froissart (Luce, t. iii, p. 20 and 224) mistake when they assert that the celebrated outlaw died in England: this error should be corrected by an entry printed in Rymer's collection, vol. ii, p. 1222. Various entries of 1336 and 1337 preserved at Paris in the Trésor des chartes, allude to the residence of Robert d'Artois in Guienne, etc. (*Œuvres de Froissart*, edit. of M. Kervyn de Lettenhove, t. xx, p. 176-179.)

1030. Jean, comte de Sancerre and sire de Saint-Michel-sur-Loire, commanded under the duc de Berry in Flanders in 1383, was at the siege of Turin in 1390, and died in 1402. He is included in the entry in the Issue Rolls before mentioned in the note upon Lord Craon, l. 714. See Devon, p. 177, 36 Edward III.

1032. Charles de Trie, comte de Dammartin. Lord Berners and Johnes, following an erroneous reading, have made Froissart assert that this nobleman was slain at the battle of Poitiers by Reginald de Cobham; in the edition of Buchon it is rightly read that he was there taken prisoner only, as appears from many entries on the rolls of the Public Record Office. Anselme says that he became the earl of Salisbury's prisoner, and that in 1360 the comte made over his lands of Capy and la Baseque, near Arras, to the constable of Fiennes in exchange for Marrot, assigned by the constable to the earl of Salisbury in diminution of his ransom. Charles de Trie was alive in 1394. (Anselme, *Hist. général.*, etc., t. vi, p. 671, § x.)

In the close Roll 46 Ed. III., membr. 33 (Rymer, vol. iii, p. 935) there is an entry concerning the liberation from prison of a Jean Danmartyn.

1040. Guichard d'Angle, sire de Pleumartin, and in 1350, seneschal of Saintonge. He was present at the engagement with the English at Saint-Jean-d'Angely in 1346, and was taken before the same town in 1351, and carried to England. After his release at the end of the following year, he was constantly engaged against the English, until his capture at Poitiers. After this he joined the side of England, in 1363 was appointed by the Black Prince marshal of Aquitaine, and in such capacity ordered the following year to levy the revenues in the dukedom. (*Rot. Vasc.*, 38 Ed. III., membr. 4; Rymer, vol. iii, p. 726. Cf. p. 801.) He fought gallantly at Najera 1367. By an entry dated February 19, 1341 (n. st.), Charles V. gave to Geoffroy de la Celle, knight, 60 pounds torneses of land in Touraine on the estates forfeited of Guichard d'Angle, « chevalier rebelle. » (Archives Nat., JJ. 102, n° 182.) In 1372 he was elected into the order of the Garter, and at the coronation of Richard II. was rewarded with the earldom of Huntingdon and 100 marks per annum for the support of the dignity. He died in the spring of 1380.

1043. Jean, son of Olivier, sire d'Aubigny, and Eustachie du Puy. In the Issue Roll, 32 Edw. III., p. 167, is a notice of L333. 6s. 8d. money paid to Sir John Wynkefield, in part payment of 2500 marks, for Lord « Dauboneye, » his prisoner. Cf. p. 173.

1044. Eustache de Ribemont, the same with him mentioned by Froissart, as rewarded with a chaplet of pearls by Edward for his gallant bearing in the night affray at Calais. He was the third husband of Idoine de l'Isle, comtesse de Soudre, widow of Thibaut de Moreuil.

1076. « Le seigneur de Pommiers, messire Helie et messire Aymenion de Pommieres, » ed. Kervyn, t. xxii, p. 371-375. Amanieu and Elie de Pommiers are frequently mentioned in the English records. In the Issue Roll, 32 Edward III. is notice of a payment to the latter, where he is styled *domino d'Arbenac*<sup>1</sup>, of L20 in part of 30,000 florins

<sup>1</sup> Arbanats, département de la Gironde, arrondissement de Bordeaux, canton de Podensac. In 1313, Bertrand de Goth, nephew of Pope Clement V., vindicated a right of high and low justice in *villis de Portet et Arbanaq.* (Gascon Rolls, ann. 6 Ed. II., membr. 12.)

due to him for his prisoner, the earl of Eu. Cf. *Rot. Vasc.*, 39 Ed. III., membr. 2 ; ap. Rymer, vol. iii, p. 674, 747.

1094. The following reconnaissance of Eustache de Ribemont to King Jean of the position of the English army will best illustrate this passage, whilst its own merits render an apology for its insertion unnecessary : « Sire, nous avons reconnu de près les ennemis, nous avons remarqué leur nombre, leur poste et considéré l'ordre qu'ils tiennent. Autant que je le puis juger à leurs bannières et pennons, ils ne sont pas en tout plus de deux mille hommes d'armes, six mille archers et peut-estre mille ou douze cens brigands. Ils se sont logez environ à une lieue d'icy, sur une colline qui ne contient guère que deux mille pas de terrain, environnée tout à l'entour de hayes vives et fort épaisses, coupée par le milieu d'un chemin un peu creux et si estroit, que quatre hommes, mesme trois, n'y sçauroient monter de front, et de plus couvert des deux costez de gros buissons tous bordez d'une partie de leurs archers, qui travaillent encore à se retrancher d'un nouveau fossé. Au bout de ces hayes sont leurs gens-d'armes à pied, tenant chacun leur cheval par la bride, sur un haut, entre d'autres buissons et de fortes vignes, couverts du reste de leurs archers rangez en maniere d'une herse. A la gauche, où les hayes et l'avenue ne semblent pas si rudes, les ennemis sont remparez de leurs chariots embarrassez les uns dans les autres. Sur la droite, il y a une autre petite éminence, vers laquelle j'ay veu filer de la cavalerie qui s'y veut placer, comme je croy, pour nous donner dans les flancs, lorsque nous les attaquerons. »

1105. Sir Eustace, a knight from Hainault, although his title was borrowed from Auberchicourt, near Douay, « appert et hardi chevalier durement et bon guerrier aussi <sup>1</sup>, » was son of Sir Sanchet d'Abri-checourt, one of the founders of the Garter. He married on Michaelmas Day, 1360, at Wingham, in Kent, the countess dowager Elizabeth of Kent, daughter of William V. duke of Juliers, niece to Queen Philippa, and relict of John Plantagenet, earl of Kent. (Beltz, *Memorials of the Garter*, p. 91.) Another Aubricicourt, Nicholas, had been knighted by Edward III. in 1331. (Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. iii, p. 824.)

1155. The following extract from Barnes, p. 506, may serve to

<sup>1</sup> Luce's Froissart, liv. i, § 428 ; t. V, p. 352.

explain this passage : « At the beginning of this justing, while marshal d'Endregghan stood still to behold the strength and skill of the young gentlemen of either party, the other marshal, the Lord John Clermont, thinking to enter at the hedge gap and so to come at the back of our van, made haste thither ; but the earls of Salisbury and Suffolk, who led the English rear, and beheld his motion and guessed his design, posted to that gap, which they fenced with an hedge of steel, and so the rear came to sustain the first main stress of the battle. »

1166. « Le prince de Galles, attaqué sur ses derrières, fit volte-face ; et ce fut son arrière-garde, placée sous les ordres du comte de Salisbury, qui eut à soutenir le premier choc. Ce qui est certain, c'est qu'aucune chronique française ne mentionne cette particularité d'une importance capitale. » (Luce, *Histoire de Bertrand du Guesclin*, t. i, ch. vi, p. 175.)

1233. Du Cange has expatiated upon the use of that hue and cry in battle. See at the end of his Glossary, t. vii, *Du Cry d'armes*, dissertation xi, p. 46-52 ; and *De l'Usage du Cry d'armes*, diss. xii, p. 53-56.

1280. Compare Froissart, ed. Kervyn, t. v, p. 540, who adds that in heading his men, he was attended by his four squires, whose names are given by Ashmole : Dutton, Delves, Fowlehurst and Hawkestone.

1310. John, Lord Mohun, of Dunster, son of John, the third Lord Mohun, served in the wars with France in the retinue of Sir Bartholomew Burghersh, whose daughter he married. At the battle of Poitiers, he was included in the retinue of the Black Prince. In the 47 Edw. III. he accompanied the expedition into Flanders. The precise time of his death is uncertain, but it happened in 1375 or 1376. He was one of the founders of the order of the Garter.

The Moion family was very ancient and in existence on the continent before the conquest of England, where

Li viel William de Moion  
Out avec li maint compaignon.

*Le Roman du Rou*, vol. ii, p. 246.

See Dugdale's *Baronage of England*, vol. i, p. 498, col. 1 ; *The Norman People*, etc. London, 1874, 8vo. p. 334, art. *Mohan* ; the *Domesday Book*, vol. iv, p. 40 ; Sir Henry Ellis's *A general Introduction*, etc., vol. i, p. 214, and vol. ii, p. 365.

1322. He is called by Froissart *Languran*. From Anselme, it appears that the seigneurie of Langoiran, at this time, was in the hands of the family of d'Albret. Amanieu d'Albret, seigneur de Langoiran, is twice mentioned in the English Rolls, 1355, 1360; probably the Arnand-Amanien, afterwards, in 1382, great chamberlain of France, but who before had fought on the side of Edward. A sire de Langoiran was killed in single combat by a knight named Bernard Courant, before the walls of Cavillac.

1347. A contemporary French rhymist bestows a similar praise to King John after the battle of Poitiers :

Là fut pris li bons roys de France,	Gauvains, Tristan, ne Lancelos,
Qui ot tel cuer et tel constance	Rolans, ne Ogiers (bien dire l'os),
Qu'onques Judas Machabeus,	Guillaumes, Olivier ne Pompée
Hector, ne Cesar Julius,	N'orent si très-bonne journée
Alexandres, ne Charlemainnes,	Ne ne firent tant comme il fit.
Qui tint l'empire en son domaine,	En un jour trop en desconfit ;
Godefroy de Buillons, ne Artus,	Mais souz ne pooit pas souffire, etc.
Ajaus, Achilles, Troillus,	

Confort d'amy. (*Les Œuvres de Guillaume de Machault*, p. 101.)

1353. King Jean's son, whom he had by his side, was Philippe, his youngest son, afterwards duke of Burgundy, founder of the second line of that house, who here earned for himself the name of « le Hardi, » the Bold.

1362. He is called by Sir Bartholomew Burghersh, *the comte de Salbirys*, and by Froissart, *Saarbruck*. In the lists of prisoners in Rymer he is written *Jean, comte de Salesburce*, and *Salsbruce*, and in the French Rolls, *Salebrugg*. There is also in Rymer, vol. iii, p. 494, a writ for the apprehending certain parties suspected of having attacked and wounded the count of Salesbrigge, a prisoner of the King, at Wallingford. Cf. p. 408, 475, 478, 850, etc.

1365. Bernard, comte de Ventadour, married in 1337 Marguerite de Beamount. (Anselme, *Hist. général.*, etc., t. vi, p. 86, § x.) In the *Issues of the Exchequer*, 32 Edw. III., is an entry of 6000 florins paid Sir B. Burghersh, in part of 30,000 florins, in which the King was bound to him for his prisoner the count de Ventadour. In the *Liberate Rolls*, 37 Edw. III., membr. 3, is an order for the payment of £200. to Sir B. Burghersh for the same prisoner. The latter is printed in

Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. iii, p. 706. Frequent mention is made of him in the same collection, namely in company with the comte de Tancarville and the maréchal d'Audrehem (*Rot. Franc.*, 31 Edw. III., membr. 2—once as marshal of France, p. 348), and of his son Louis.

1379. Jean de Landes was one of the guardians of the duke of Normandy, and conducted him out of the action, but afterwards returned with Bodenay and joined the king's division. By Robert d'Avesbury he is called *Baundos*. He is in the list of dead in the Prince's report to the bishop of Worcester. See the *Chronicle of London*, p. 208.

According to the pedigree of this family as given by de Courcelles, *Histoire généalogique et héraldique des pairs de France*, etc., t. v, Paris, 1825, 4to., p. 15, n° xii, it was at this time represented by Robert II. baron de Matas, who was living in 1363. The individual named in the text, however, is in the lists of the dead by Robert d'Avesbury and Burghersh, by the latter of whom he is called *Geoffrey de Matas*.

1380. According to Burghersh, Raynald de Pount. Robert d'Avesbury and the Black Prince call him *Renaud de Pountz* and *Pointz*. After the Black Prince had left Aquitaine, the sire de Pons, a baron of Poitou, accompanied the duke of Lancaster against Montpaon, but immediately afterwards joined the side of France. He was, in 1372, taken by the English before Soubise, but rescued by Evan of Wales. (Froissart, ed. Kervyn, t. xxii, p. 375, 376.)

1409. The following copy of a letter from Sir Bartholomew Burghersh to Sir John Montagu upon the result of the action at Poitiers, from a Ms. written but a very few years after the battle, is valuable as throwing great light on those lists already furnished by the Black Prince himself, printed by Sir Harris Nicolas at the end of the *Chronicle of London*, and Robert d'Avesbury, p. 252-255 : « Fait à remembrer que le Prince se parti de Burdeux lendemayn de Saynt-Johan en Auguste, l'an de nostre Seigneur m.ccc.lvi., chivacha par Agenès, Limosyn, Alvern et Beryu et sur la river de Leyre de Nivers, qu'est l'entré de Beryndun <sup>1</sup>, parce tanque à la cité de Tonrs pur passer en Fraunce ; mès toutz les pountz furent rumputz issin qu'il ne pooit passer. Et tut le chymyn il ne trova reste avance, tanque il vient

<sup>1</sup> Bourgogne, Burgundy (?).



à une chastelle appelliz *Romorentyne*, qu'est environ, et deveaunt ceo qu'il vient illoques si avoit pris vi.xx. hommes d'armes, et deyns ledit chastelle furent le seignoures de Crone, un de graunt seignoures de Fraunce, et mons. Bussigaunde oue l. hommes d'armes, et monsieur le Prince adsege ledit chastel per viij. jours, et li primer jour prit tote le force dudit chastel forspris un grosse tour, et auxi prist xl. hommes d'armes, et ledit seignour de Crone et Bussigaunde se mysterent deyns ledit tour, et per force de feu et de myne et d'engyne il se renderent prisoners. Item le Prince demorra devaunt ledit cité de Tours, où fuist le count de Poyters, filtz à roi de Fraunce, ou la graunt power de gentz par iiij. joures, et nule de ladit cité n'osast isser. Item le samadi procheyn ensuaunt vient ledit Prince à un chastelle appelliz *Chabutorie* <sup>1</sup> en Peytowe, là où le roy de Fraunce avoit cuchi le nut devaunt, et là furent pris le count de Assure, le counte de Junye et le marshal de Burgoyne, que veignent al host le roi de Fraunce; et là furent mortz et pris cc.xl. hommes d'armes. Item le lundi prochein ensuaunt le xix. jour de Septembre, li assemblerent les bataills d'un part et d'autre decost Poitiers à un dileu, et là furent pris le roi de Fraunce; monsieur Philippe, son fitz puisné, count de Poyters; le count de Pountif; mons. Jakes de Burbonnie; le count de Ewe; le count de Aubeville; le count de Tankerville; le count de Ventadourun; le count de Salbiry; le count de Vendome et son frere; le count de Russi; le count de Vendemende; le count de Danmartyn; le count de Nesson; l'erscevesque de Seyns; le chastelayne de Compost; le marshal de Oudenham; mons. Guichard de Aratz; mons. Moris Maynet, cap-tayne de Poyters; le seignour de la Toure; le seignour d'Erualle; le seignour de Crew et son frere; le seignour Vilehernalde; le seigneur de Maugeler; mons. Arnald de Mountenerye; mons. Johan de Blaunk; le seigneur d'Aubeney; le seigneur de Sully; le count d'Ausor; le viscount de Nerboun; et outre ceo furent pris ij. mille v.c. persones, desqueux furent ij. mille hommes d'armes, des mortz. Item à mesme le bataille furent mortz le duke de Burboun, mons. Robert Durasce, del saunc de Fraunce; le duk d'Athenes, conestable de Fraunce; l'ercevesque de Chalouns; le marshal de Clermonnd; le viscount de Boures; le viscount de Richohardus; mons. Raynald de Pount; mons.

<sup>1</sup> La Chaboterie, a farm situated in the commune of Mignaloux, département de la Vienne, canton de Saint-Julien-Lars.



Geffray Charny ; mons. Geffrey Matas ; et outre ceo furent mortz ij. mille et viij. cent persones, desqueux furent ij. mille hommes d'armes. Item des avantditz mortz et serjenz furent mille chivalers, que porters-baners et poynouns. Item le roy de Fraunce avoit à la journé viij. mille hommes d'armes et iiij. mille hommes à pié, et le Prince avoit à ladicte journé ij. mille hommes d'armes, ij. mille archers et mille servaunt. Item c'este tote le copie de la letter que mons. Berthilmew Burwas envoia à mons. Johanne Beaucham, par Sir John de Collandesbergh, prison audite Bertilmew. Item ledit Prince ne paroît à la journé de toet maner de gentz, mès lx. persones, desqueus furent iiij. hommes d'armes. »

There is in the *Archæologia*, vol. i, p. 213 a letter from the Black Prince to the bishop of Worcester, dated Bordeaux, 20th October 1356, relating to the battle of Poitiers.

The following letter of the Pope Innocent VI. to the Black Prince after the battle is not noticed by Barnes, who has given us translations of two letters from Innocent, dated Avignon the third and sixth of October. nor has it, that I am aware, been elsewhere printed. The original is in the Cottonian Ms. Galba E.x. fol. 56.

*Papa eleganter hortatur Principem Angliæ ad pacem et misericordiam post captionem Regis Franciæ, per multa bona exempla leonis et principis apium.*

« INNOCENTIUS episcopus, servus servorum Dei, dilecto filio, nobili viro, E. primogenito, etc. salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Illa, fili, consuetudine regnancium, ille mos principantium semper fuit, sicut antiquorum scripta fidelia protestantur et usque ad hæc tempora observantur, ut quanto amplius successibus habundarunt felicibus, tanto promptiores ad pacem tantoque fuerunt ad concordiam proniores. Hanc etiam bestiarum fortissimus, et qui inter eos regio nomine fungitur, benignitatem leo sequitur, hanc apium princeps mansuetudinem imitatur ; ille, siquidem provocatus, quantumlibet prostratis novit ignoscere, hic inter apes aculeo solus caret. Te igitur, quem inter cæteros mundi principes in ætatis tuæ recentia victoriarum Dominus clarum fecit gloria triumphorum, ad ea quæ pacis et concordie sunt, eo promptiorem invenire sperantes, quo tuorum felicitatem successuum, ab eo recognoscis humiliter, et ei solum reputas reverenter, a quo omnem fortitudinem esse constat. Nobilitatem tuam, quo frequencius eo instantius deprecamur, tibi tuæ salutis intuitu

paternis affectibus suadentes, quatinus ad pacem et concordiam cum carissimo filio uostro in Christo, Johanne, rege Francorum illustri, reformandam habilitans animum, cor præparans, disponens et mentem, ad ea quæ venerabilis frater noster Talairandus, episcopus Albanensis, Apostolicæ sedis nuncius, tibi super hiis pro parte nostra retulerit, credas indubie, illaque ad effectum speratæ et votivæ consummationis adducas. Dat. Avinioni, xij. Kal. Novembr.»

We find in an imperfect book, very little known even in France, another such letter :

« INNOCEŒTIUS, episcopus.... Quanquam, fili, ex tuorum felicitate successuum cum mundo sentiens ut probabiliter glorieris, tenemus indubie quod sicut Deo devotus et ex devotis parentibus editus triumphorum gloriam et victoriarum honorem ad dictum Creatorem tuum, a quo est omnis victoria omnisque triumphus, cum reverentia refers; tenemus quod in eis effusionem cruoris humani consideras; tenemus quod animarum pericula intueris et quod proinde in conspectu ipsius Dei tui eo te humilias amplius quo sicut circumspectus et prudens plane propendis debere te illi pro hiis referre gratias, pro hiis ab eo veniam deprecari. Licet etiam ipse idem Deus, prout vult distribuens dona sua, te victoriarum titulus et triumphorum pompa fecerit gloriosum, detestatur tamen plebis sue stragem, nec regnantium rancorem aut odium, jus vel injuriam compensari vult excidio fidelium et innocentium populorum, quod nos, attenta nobis meditatione pensantes non revocamus in dubium, ymmo verisimiliter certi sumus, quod tu quanto de manu Domini prosperiora te suscepisse cognoscis, tanto ad pacem eris promptior, tanto ad concordiam favorabilius inclineris, maxime quod ea sit consuetudo potentium imitantium pietatem, ut plus eos ad clementiam quotidie posteritas excitet, plus ad mansuetudinem indefinite inducat.... Hanc igitur occasionem, hanc causam a te exhibere possis exigimus, et pro pace inter carissimum in Christo filium nostrum Johannem, regem Francie illustrem, quem ad carcerem tuum bellatus eventus adduxit adjutore Domino, reformanda, nobilitatem tuam confidenter adimus, illam quanta possimus affectione rogantes, ac viscera misericordie Dei obsecrantes attentius, quatenus reddens gratitudinis vicem domino Deo tuo, pro hiis que tribuit ipse tibi, ad pacem et concordiam habiles animum, cor prepares, dispones et mentem... et no longis sermonibus diffusius extendamus, epistolam precibus nostris adicibus et que venerabilis frater Talairandus, episcopus

Albanensis, et dilectus filius noster Nicolas Triter, Sancti Vitalis presbiter cardinalis apostolice sedis, unum vel alterum eorum tibi super hoc, pro parte nostra, per se vel per alios retulerint vel indicarunt, credas indubie illaque speratis operum fructibus pia velis prosecutione complere. Avenione, v. Nonas Octobris, pontificatus nostri anno quarto. » (J. Delpit, *Collection générale des documents français qui se trouvent en Angleterre*, t. i, p. 79, 80.)

Among the Baluze manuscripts, t. lxxxvii, fol. 183, Nat. Library, there is a letter dated September 27, 1356, directed under shape of a circular, by the officers of the council of the King of France, to the bishop of Alby, (Albano?) concerning the battle fought at Poitiers eight days before, Monday September 19.

1409. We think proper to reprint here a cotemporary *Complainte sur la bataille de Poitiers*, published by Ch. de Beaurepaire in the *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes*, t. ii, 3d series, Paris, 1851, 8vo., p. 257-263.

Grant doulour me contraint de faire ma complainte	1
De l'ost devant Poitiers, là où persone mainte	
Fut morte et le roy prins par la fausse gent feinte,	
Qui s'enfoy : dont fut leur traison atteinte.	
Quant virent que nostre ost pooit bien desconfire	5
L'ost des Anglois, si distrent : « Se les alons occirre,	
Guerres seroot faillies, si sera pour nous pire ;	
Car nous perdrons chevauche. Miex est de nous enfuire. »	
Onques cop n'i ferirent d'arme ne de plançon ;	
Mais distrent : « Fuions tost ; se ne nous avançon,	10
En fuiant serons mors, pris ou mis à rençon. »	
De tels gent ne puent aistre dicte bonne chaçon.	
Non contretant leur fuite, fuiant ont esté pris.	
Por ce ne sont pas quite que ne soient repris	
De leur grant traison, en quoy ont tant mespris	15
Que leur gentillece a perdu honneur et pris.	
Ils se dient estre nez de noble parenté :	
Hè Dieux ! dont leur vient-il si fausse volenté,	
Que d'aucun ben fait faire ne sont entalenté ?	
C'est de lor grant orgueil dont ainsi sont tenté ;	20
Car en Dieu renoier chascuns d'euls s'estudie,	
Et à le parjurer chascun se glorifie.	
Jà n'i aura celui qui le loe ne prie ;	
Car il leur est avis qu'autres dieux qu'eulz n'est mie.	
Boubanz et vainegloire, vesture deshoneste,	25
Les ceintures dorées, la plume sur la teste,	

La grant barbe de bouc, qui est une ordre beste,  
Les vus font estordiz comme fouldre et tempeste.

Tels gens où reigne orgueil, qui est si vil peché,  
Sont de touz mauvais vices et d'ordure enteché ; 30  
Tous temps seront traistres, puisqu'il sont aleché,  
Car touz les bens de grace sont en euls asseché.

Or voient comme orgueil et leur grant surcuidance  
Et leur haute maniere en honte les avance !  
Leur grant orgueil les a tresbuchés en viltance 35  
Et leur grant convoitise et leur insuffisance.

Quant euls aus mareschaus pour passer se montroient  
Garçons armez, chevaux l'un de l'autre empruntoient,  
Leurs soillars et leur pages pour gens d'armes contoient :  
Ainssi un seul pour quatre du roy gages prenoient. 40

Par leur grant convoitise, non pour honneur conquerre,  
Ont fait telle paction avec ceuls d'Engleterre :  
« Ne tuons pas l'un l'autre ; faisons durer la guerre ;  
Feignons estre prisons, moult y porrons acquerre. »

Par tele convoitise ont maint grant don receu 45  
Des Anglois, par lesquels est revelé et sceu  
Et par leur contenance a esté aperceu  
Que par traison ont ainssi le roy deceu.

La très-grant traison qu'il ont lonc temps covée,  
Fut en l'ost dessus dit très-clerement provée, 50  
Dont France est à touz temps par euls deshonorée,  
Se par autres que euls ne nous est recovrez.

De traison en cuer portoient la baniere ;  
Du conseil reveloient aux Englois la matiere.  
Quant le roy apperçut leur très-fausse maniere, 55  
Si les a du conseil tous fait bouter arriere.

Les traistres en ont grant indignation,  
Si ont contre le roy fait conspiracion  
De li et ses enfans metre à destruction ;  
Dont sont venu bien preis de leur extencion. 60

Quant orent mis le roy où le vouloient rendre  
Et virent que ce fut à l'assaillir et prendre,  
Ne s'adrecerent pas d'aler le roy deffendre,  
Mais s'enfuirent tuit : qu'ancor les puit-on prendre !

Il n'est cueur qui peust d'euls dire trop laidure ; 65  
Fauls, traistres, desloyaus, sont infame et parjure ;  
Car par euls est le roy mis à desconfiture,  
Qui est li très plus noble de toute creature.

O poy de gent demore le roy en la bataille ;  
Comme très-vaillant prioc, fiert d'estoc et de taille, 70  
Mors en abat grant nombre, ne les prise une maille,  
Dit : « Ferez, chevalers ; ce ne sont que merdaille. »

Fierement se combat et de grant vasselage ;  
 Los, pris, honeur emporte sus touz ceuls de parage.  
 Se touz les autres ussent esté de sou corage, 75  
 Anglois ussent esté cnnquis et mis en grant servage 1.  
 Quant le roy se vit pris, si dist par grant constance :  
 « Ce est Johan de Valois, non pas le roy de France.  
 Maint escu percié et rompu mainte lance  
 Seront que vous aiez du roy françois finance. » 80  
 Dieu veille conforter et garder nostre roy  
 Et son petit enfant qu'est demoré o soy,  
 Et confonde traïstres qui par leur grant efroy  
 Et tray leur seigneur à qui il devoient foy !  
 Endurer aventures paciemment convient, 85  
 Combien que soient dures ; mais quant il en sovient,  
 Grant douleur font au cuer. Se ren en survient  
 Qui met en esperance, quatre foiz miel avient.  
 Dieu done à nostre duc faire tele aliance  
 De gens fermes, entiers et de si grant puissance, 90  
 Que des anemis puissent prandre vengeance  
 Si qu'ancore puïsson veoir nostre roy en France,  
 S'il est ben conseillé, il n'obliera mie  
 Mener Jaque Bonhome en sa grant compaignie ;  
 Guerres ne s'enfuira pour ne perdre la vie 95  
 . . . . . du roy. . . . .

Let us mention also another piece of poetry *Comment Franc-Vouloir fut subjugué aux batailles de Crécy et de Poitiers par Folie*, inserted into the *Miroir de Mariage*, published by Crapelet. (*Poésies morales et historiques d'Eustache Deschamps*, etc. Paris, 1832, 8vo., p. 233.)

Long afterwards, painting associated itself with poetry to preserve, at least in England, the recollection of the two decisive battles fought by the greatest of the Plantagenets. There is in the throne room of Windsor Castle a large picture executed by command of William III. On a space of 20 or 24 yards is depicted the triumph of the Black Prince presenting King Jean of France and King David of Scotland, his prisoners, to his father.

Page 93, heading. *Clergie* undoubtedly means *clergy*, as in the account of the entry of Isabel of Bavaria into Paris in 1389 : « En devant l'église Nostre-Dame, l'évesque de Paris estoit revestu des

<sup>1</sup> Froissart says : « Et le roy de son costé, fut très-bon chevalier ; et si la quarte partie de ses gens luy essent ressemblé, la journée eust esté pour eux. »

armes Nostre-Seigneur, et tout le college aussi, où moult avoit grant clergie; » but it was more comprehensive than now.

We have no occasion to examine the various meanings of *clergie* and *clerc*, the commonest, as to the latter being *clerk*, *amanuensis*, *actuary*<sup>1</sup>; but it is by no means idle to state that at Bordeaux the individuals of that class of society, even in orders (shavelings), could carry on a trade and keep a wife<sup>2</sup>.

- |                                        |                                  |
|----------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| <sup>1</sup> A Nonnequin le fil Martin | Et qui estoit clerics couronnez, |
| Le Singe, qui bien sot latin,          | D'escrire à court et de conter   |
|                                        | Que li frais pooient monter.     |

Jean de Coudé, ap. du Cange, *Gloss. med. et inf. Latin.*, t. ii, p. 394, col. 1, v<sup>o</sup> *Clerici*.

<sup>2</sup> *Pro Guillelmo Fitz Piers-Ayquem et aliis*, (Rot. Vasc., 29 Edw. III., membr. 9.) R. senescalco suo Vasconie et constabulario suo Burdegale... salutem. Ex parte dilectorum vobis Guillelmi Fitz-Piers Ayquem, Johannis Ayquem, Johannis de la Taste et Guillelmi Fitz Arnaude-Ayquem, clericorum, burgensium et mercatorum de Burdegala, nobis est graviter conquerendo monstratum quod licet ipsi totis temporibus retroactis custumas de bonis et mercandis suis in dicta civitate juxta libertates et consuetudines ejusdem civitatis, prout alii burgenses civitatis illius solvunt, hocusque solvere consuevissent, absque eo quod ipsi custumas aliquas de bonis et mercandis suis cum forinsecis vel alienigenis solvere compellebantur, vos tamen, pro eo quod predicti Guillelmus, Johannes Johannes (*sic*) et Guillelmus clerici sunt, pretendentes ipsos cum forinsecis et alienigenis pro bonis et mercandis suis solvere debere, ipsos ad custumas de bonis et mercandis suis cum forinsecis solvendas compellere nitimini, ut asserunt, minus juste et contra libertates et privilegia burgensibus civitatis predicte per nos et progenitores nostros concessa. Super quo supplicarunt sibi per nos de remedio provideri. Nos voleutes, etc. — Concessum.

*Pro clericis de civitate Burdegale tonsuratis et uxoratis, de non inquirendo*. (Rot. Vasc. 29 Edw. III., membr. 3 et 5. — Rymer, vol. iii, p. 310.) R. senescalco suo Vasconie et constabulario suo Burdegale... salutem. Gravem querelam dilectorum et fidelium nostrorum majoris, juratorum et aliorum de communitate civitatis nostre Burdegale, recepimus, continet quod, licet ipsi omnes et singuli tam clerici tonsurati et alii qui in civitate predicta de redditibus, mercandis, artificiis et laboribus suis vivunt et nura ejusdem civitatis supportant, quieti sint et esse debeant, ipsique et eorum antecessores a tempore cujus contrarii memoria non existit, semper hactenus quieti esse consueverunt de custuma priorum vinorum suorum in propriis vineis suis crescencium apud castrum nostrum Burdegale solvendis, vos tamen, prefate constabularie, pro eo quod invenistis per privilegia regia esse concessum quod clerici filii burgensium civitatis predicte de custuma vinorum suorum propriorum in eorum vineis propriis crescencium liberi esse debent, asserentes alios clericos de civitate predicta, qui non sunt filii burgensium, a libertate predicta fore exclusos, quamquam dicta concessio ad filios burgensium beneficiatos et in servicio ecclesiastico in dies occupatos, qui coram nobis, vel officialibus aut ministris nostris, non sunt justiciabiles, nec ad onera eidem civitati incumbencia supportanda contribuunt, et non ad clericos filios burgensium, etc.



According to the doctrine of the decretals, confirmed by the council of Trent, the clerks, under the subdeaconship, could marry and keep the benefit of clergy, on certain conditions : 1st not to be bigamist, viz. in the canonical language, not to have contracted a second matrimony ; 2d not to have wedded a widow ; 3ly to continue to wear the clerical crown and the costume imposed on clerks<sup>1</sup>. Originally commerce was forbidden to clerks ; but in the decretals there is no such prohibition except against the clerks who make themselves jesters, buffoons, butchers or bakers<sup>2</sup>.

In fact, a multitude of clerks drove a trade ; the proof of which frequently occurs in the decisions of the Parliament of Paris. They are to be compared with the regulations promulgated in 1317 *Pro custumis a clericis conjugatis exigendis*. (Gascon Rolls, 11 Ed. II., membr. 17, dorso. — Rymer, vol. ii, p. 135, col. 2.)

At the end of the XIIth century, Pope Innocent III. having anew forbidden the marriage of clergymen, Walter Mapes composed a bitter satire, which has been printed by William Camden in his *Remains concerning Britaine*, etc. London, 1614, 4to., p. 338, 340. Cf. Robert Henry, *The History of Great Britain*, vol. iii, London, 1777, 4to., ch. v, § 2, p. 498 ; and Boulard's French translation, t. iii, Paris, 1792, 4to., p. 500.

1453. Compare that account with Gower's description of a procession on Queen Olympia's birth day :

There was great merth on all side,  
Where as she passethe by the strete,  
There was ful many a timbre bete,  
And many a maid carolende.

*Confessio Amant.*, lib. vi, fol. 137 a. b. edit. Berthel. 154. — Pauli's ed. London, 1867, 8vo., vol. iii, p. 63, l. 12. — Warton's *History of English Poetry*, vol. ii, p. 9, col. 1, notes.

1484. He was engaged there in deciding differences respecting the purchase of the French prisoners, amongst which were the pretensions

<sup>1</sup> Constitution or decretal of Pope Boniface VIII., 1298 ; 3d part of the *Corpus juris canonici*, lib. iii, tit. 2. — Decretal of Clement V., 1312, in the Clementines ; 4th part of the same, lib. iii, tit. 1. — Conc. Trid., Sess. 23. (*De reform. C. G.*) Cf. Cangii Gloss., t. ii, p. 393, col. 1, V<sup>la</sup>. *Clerici conjugati*.

<sup>2</sup> See a constitution unique in V<sup>lo</sup>. III. 1, and the text of the Clementines as above.



concerning the taking of the French King, in the respective claims of Sir Denis Morbeque and Bernard de Troye. Compare Collins, p. 108, with Issue Roll, 37 Edw. III., p. 180; Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. iii, p. 467; and the *Chronicle of London*, A. D. 1360, p. 209.

1499. In Rymer, vol. iii, p. 348, is the King's writ dated the 20th of March to the sheriff of Devonshire, John Dabernonn<sup>1</sup>, ordering him to provide the necessary supplies and carriage for the Prince and the King of France, intending to land at Plymouth.

1501. Barnes, p. 526, has a very spirited account of the entry into London of the Prince with his noble prisoner. The latter was in civilian dress, his coat of arms and helmet having been dispatched to England by a special messenger, bearer of news from the battle of Poitiers. (Poll Exit. 30 Edw. III.; ap. Rymer, vol. iii, p. 343.)

1509. It would seem clear from this passage that the confinement of Isabella at Rising Castle in Norfolk was not a very close one, and that, independently of the King's annual visit, a greater degree of liberty was allowed her than has been generally supposed. At the same time, we have evidence from letters of safe-conduct to William de Leth, dated the 4th of April, that she was at Rising in the previous month; in which she is called « Carissimam matrem nostram, Isabellam, reginam Angliæ. » (Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. iii, p. 352.)

We avail ourselves of this opportunity to venture a hint concerning the King's messenger to his mother: was he not the William Delict, a citizen of London, in whose house in Fenchurch Street Sir William Wallace was lodged before he was brought to his trial in the great hall at Westminster? Very likely, this Delict was a Scotchman from Leith, who had betrayed and left his country to side with Edward III.<sup>2</sup>

1512. This kind of sport generally prevailed among ladies, chiefly in England, from the earliest times, as illustrated by the vouchers

<sup>1</sup> That name ought to be spelt d'*Abernou* from Abernon, near Orbec, in the old province of Normandy, which was the original seat of the family. Reginald of Abernon having had a grant of Addington (Surrey) in the time of Henry II., bore the name, as well as his descendants, who nevertheless preserved the arms of Abernon, with different tinctures, as they still do.

<sup>2</sup> Stow's *Annals or a generall Chronicle of England*, reign of Edward III., p. 209.

collected by Strutt <sup>1</sup>. It is alluded to in a tract of the XVth century <sup>2</sup>. Still in *Love's labour's lost*, act. IV, sc. 1, the princess says to a game-keeper :

Then, forester, my friend, where is the bush  
That we must stand and play the murderer in?

1573. This treaty is printed at length in Rymer, vol. iii, p. 487. The swearing of the kings took place in the church of Saint-Nicolas, Calais, whereas Barnes says, refusing the offered Pax : « they kissed each other with hearty demonstrations of a mutual friendship. »

1588. Joan, countess of Kent, daughter of Edmund of Woodstock, earl of Kent, second son of Edward the First ; she was first married to Sir Thomas Holland, and on his going abroad, was contracted to William Montagu, earl of Salisbury, from whom she was divorced on the petition of Sir Thomas by a bull of Pope Clement the Sixth. Her husband died on the 28th of December 1260, and she became the wife of the Black Prince on the 10th of October in the year following. Compare Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. iii, p. 626, 632. A. D. 1361.

1656. Charles, son of Guy de Châtillon, count of Blois ; he was killed at the battle of Auray, to which allusion is here made, contending for the dukedom of Brittany, which he claimed in right of his wife, Joan, daughter of Guy, brother of John III. duke of Brittany. The particulars of the battle of Auray are given at length by Froissart, ed. Kervyn, t. xvii, p. 408-410.

1685. Bertrand du Guesclin, the hero of the French at this period, was born about 1314, and died in July 1380. A life of him by Claude Menard was issued at Paris, 1618, an another (*Anciens Mémoires du quatorzième siècle, depuis peu découverts*, etc.), by Le Febvre, printed at

<sup>1</sup> *The Sports and the Pastimes of England*. London, 1834, 8vo., p. 11-14 and 50, 51.

<sup>2</sup> *Le Débat des hérauts d'armes de France et d'Angleterre*, etc. Paris, 1870, 8vo., p. 3, § 7, and p. 129.

Among the pleasures offered to a lady in the Squir of Lowe Degre, a father says to his daughter :

« To-morowe ye shall on hunting fare,  
And ryde, my doughter, in a chare....  
Homward thus shall ye ryde,  
On haukyng by the ryvers syde, etc., »

Ritson's *Ancient English metrical Romances*, vol. i, l. 739, 773, p. 176, 177.

Douay, 1692, both 4to.; but there is a much better one in the press in Paris by an eminent scholar M. Siméon Luce, of which the first volume has already made its appearance.

1687. Jean de Bourbon, comte de la Marche, son of Jacques de Bourbon, who was taken prisoner at Poitiers; at this time he was only sixteen years of age. He was afterwards at the battles of Comines and Rosebecq in 1382, at the siege of Taillebourg in 1384; followed Charles the Sixth to Gueldres in 1388, and to Languedoc in 1391, and died the 11th of June 1393.

1692. Sir Hugh Calvely, or Calverley, of Lea in Cheshire; was at the battle of the Trente, under Sir Richard Bembrough, in 1350<sup>1</sup>; was afterwards at the battle of Nájera, in 1377 was captain of Calais. In 1378, he took part in the crusade against Clement VII., and was driven from the territory of the earl of Flanders by the French king. In 1386, he founded a monastery at Bunbury in Cheshire, in which church his monument is still to be seen.

1694. He was the fourth son of Thomas Gurnay, one of the murderers of Edward the Second. He was a soldier of fortune, and appears to have been at Crécy, Poitiers and Nájera; and was afterwards appointed seneschal of the Landes. He married 1. Alice, sister of Thomas Beauchamp, earl of Warwick; 2. Philippa, sister of John, lord Talbot. (Gough, *Sepulchral Monuments in Great Britain*, no 21.) His appointment to the custody of Brest castle, under the Duke of Lancaster, 1357, is in Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. iii, p. 283. Having died in 1406 at the age of 96 years, Mathew Gurnay was buried at Stoves-under-Hampden. Leland, in his *Itinerary*, vol. ii, p. 63, 64, and vol. iii, p. cx1, has given this inscription engraved on his tomb, where are enumerated the battles in which this « moult vaillans chevaliers, » as Froissart calls him, had taken part: « Icy gist le noble et vaillant chivaler Matheu de Gourney, etc. qui en sa vie fu à la bataille de Benamary, et ala après à la siege d'Algesire sur les Sarrazins, et aussy à la bataille de l'Escluse, de Cressy, de Deygeness, de

<sup>1</sup> See le *Combat de trente Bretons contre trente Anglois*, published by G. A Crapelet, 2nd edition. Paris, 1835, 4to. *passim*. Twenty years afterwards we find an item concerning a sum ordered to another champion of the same fight, Morice de Treseguidi, by the King of France for a journey to Spain. See D. Morice, *Mémoires pour servir de preuves à l'histoire de Bretagne*, t. ii, col. 283, 284.

Peyterres, de Nazare, d'Ozrey et à plusieurs autres batailles et asseges, en lesquelx il gaigna noblement grant los et honour. » It has been supposed that he was the prototype of Chaucer's Knight. See Chaucer's Prologue to the *Canterbury Tales*, lines 43 to 78.

Cuvelier, a rhymier contemporary with Chandos herald, mentions Mathew Gurnay at least eight times in his *Chronicle of Bertrand du Guesclin*. See E. Charrière's edition, Paris, 1839, 4to., vol. i, p. 262, 296, 335, 342, 349, 353, 357, 359, 361. See also Camden's *Britannia*, etc. London, 1763, fol., col. 71; and above all Daniel Gurney's *Record of the House of Gournay*, printed for private distribution only. London and King's Lynn, 1848-58, 8vo., p. 743, 655, 670, 685.

1703. The account of Froissart is the same; namely, that they sent to ask a free passage and supplies for some pilgrims, who had undertaken an expedition into the kingdom of Granada to revenge the sufferings of the Saviour, to destroy the infidels and exalt the cross.

1754. We learn from the Spanish historians, that Don Pedro first retired to Portugal, where he offered his daughter Beaurice to the Infant; this being refused, he proceeded to Monterey in Galicia, thence to Santiago, where he murdered the archbishop, and afterwards to Coruña, where finding twenty-two ships, he embarked for Bayonne<sup>1</sup>.

1795. Fernando de Castro is supposed to have been the brother of the famed Inez de Castro; his life is said to have been spared after the death of Don Pedro on account of his fidelity to his sovereign. (Dillon, vol. ii, p. 119.)

1902. In the *Ancient Mémoires*, etc. of Le Febvre, p. 196, where the battle of Nájera is described, amongst the ensigns spoken of are « les lys de la France et les léopards d'Angleterre; » the English troops therefore appear to be here signified by their standard, though I do not suppose they had much right to the royal flag.

To the remark of Coxe we will add one of ours. This passage is ambiguous. As it is written, it seems to be an allusion to some romantic tradition, or prediction like the prophecies of Merlin, so widely spread at the time.

<sup>1</sup> Don Pero Lopez de Ayala, año 16 de D. Pedro, cap. x, t. i, p. 414, 415. — Ferreras, *Historia de España*, t. viii, p. 142, 143, n. 6-8. — John Talbot Dillon's *History of the reign of Peter the Cruel*, etc. London, 1788, 8vo. — Mérimée, *Hist. de D. Pedro I<sup>er</sup>*, etc., p. 463-465.

As to the leopards, the question of their introduction into the arms of England has been much discussed. Some people, without elucidating it, have asserted that originally the British leopards, before the XIIIth century<sup>1</sup>, were lions, and a single one, instead of three<sup>2</sup>. In the latter case, the adoption of the King of animals in early English heraldry might be traced up to the dukes of Normandy. In 1686, the abbé Vertot found among the ruins of a chapel of the abbey of Fécamp a tomb stone bearing an epitaph of a Robert, infant son of a duke Richard, and the image of a lion, with this inscription : ECCE VICIT LEO DE TRIBV IVDA RADIX DAVID<sup>3</sup>.

And if we refer to the chronicle of John, monk of Marmoutier, we will see that Geoffroy le Bel, another duke of Normandy, had young lions painted on his shield<sup>4</sup>, a decoration which was to be noted on the tomb of William de Valence, earl of Pembroke, 1196<sup>5</sup>.

It is almost idle to state that the seal of the township of Bordeaux during the English dominion was a lion rampant. See *Archives historiques de la Gironde*, t. iii, p. 161, n° LXI, where a fragment of such a seal appended to a charter of 1342 is represented.

On that of the Black Prince, as engraved in the *Fædera*, 3d edit., t. iii, part. i, p. 132, and on the title-page of Ainslie's *Illustrations of the Anglo-French Coinage*, London, 1830, 4to., the crest of the head piece of the helmet is a lion passant.

On the other hand, there are no lack of scholars who maintain

<sup>1</sup> *Heraldry ancient and modern including Boutell's Heraldry*, by S. T. Aveling. London, Warne and Co., 8vo.

<sup>2</sup> In the Romance of Richard Cœur-de-Lion, the King is said to have borne :

On his schuldre a scheeld of steel,  
With three lupardes wrought ful weel.

H. Weber, *Metrical Romances*, etc., vol. i, p. 222.

Another rhymers at a less remote date called King Richard II. « le roy qui les liepars porte en blason. » (*Archæologia*, vol. xx, p. 99.)

<sup>3</sup> *Histoire de l'Académie royale des inscriptions et belles-lettres*, t. iii, p. 276, hist.

<sup>4</sup> *Recherches sur le commerce, la fabrication et l'usage des étoffes de soie*, etc., vol. i, p. 226, note. Cf. vol. ii, p. 128.

<sup>5</sup> « The fascia of the chest is an enamelled plate, as is the cushion under the head, which is richly ornamented with rows of quatrefoils and escutbeons alternatively, charged with the single coats of England, G. 3 lions passant guardant Or. » (Richard Gough, *Sepulchral Monuments in Great Britain*, vol. i. London, 1786, large fol., p. 76, pl. 27. Cf. p. cxviii, and plate to face p. cxlvii.)



that prior to Henry II. there were only two lions or leopards on the Royal shield, and that this monarch, in right of his wife, Eleanor of Aquitaine, added a third, A. D. 1154, to the two he already emblazoned, and from that period three lions or leopards have been the National arms of England.

This question of lions *versus* leopards may be farther elucidated by a reference to a collection of Dutch historical medals and among which is one that has evidently been struck to commemorate the grant of the Duchy of Guienne by Louis XI. to his brother Charles, who is thereon represented on horseback, fully armed, with a drawn sword in his hand, his visor up, his tunic studded with the *fleurs de lys* of France and the leopards of Guienne. His horse is adorned in a similar manner. The motto is : « DEUS (undoubtedly for DIVUS) KAROLUS MAXIMUS AQUITANORUM DUX ET FRANCORUM FILIUS. » The other side represents a Duke of Aquitaine seated under an open canopy supported by two angels on which are the arms of France and of Guienne and the verse of the Psalms, *Deus judicium tuum Regi da, et justiciam tuam filio Regis* 1.

1988. Sir John, afterwards John second Lord Devereux, was son of Sir Walter Devereux, He does not appear, probably on account of his youth, to have taken any part in the previous wars. He became afterwards one of the heroes of Froissart. In 1370, he was governor of Limousin, in the same year was with the Prince at Limoges, seneschal of la Rochelle in 1372, was taken prisoner at Chisey in March 1373, governor of Calais in 1380, warden of the Cinq Ports in 1387, knight of the Garter in the year following, and died in February 1393.

1988. By *Briquet* and *Cresserwell* are probably intended the Sir Robert Briquet and Sir John Trevelle, mentioned by Froissart; the latter is by Barnes called Sir John Charnelle (Charuel ?). In Kervyn's edition of Froissart, the Sir John Treuelle is read *Jean Carsuelle*, which would very nearly agree with the text. Sir Robert Briquet and John Creswell are mentioned at Nájera as fighting under Sir J. Chandos (Kervyn's edit., t. vii, p. 204, 212). John Creswell is also mentioned

<sup>1</sup> Van Mieris, *Historie der Nederlandsche Vorsten*, etc., vol. i, The Hague, 1732, fol., p. 466. The Cabinet des médailles et antiques de la Bibliothèque Nationale possesses a fine golden specimen of this valuable medallion.

by Froissart in 1371 as having the castle of Moncontour given into his custody, conjointly with Hewet and Holgrave, to keep the frontier against Anjou and le Maine, and in 1373 as having been taken prisoner at the battle of Chisey. (*Ibid.*, t. viii, p. 88-90, etc.)

1992. Bernard de la Salle. He is mentioned by Froissart and Barnes as passing the Pyrenees on the Wednesday in the company of the King of Majorca. Barnes adds Lortingo (Lartigo?) de la Salle, but is not borne out by Froissart.

2034. There is a valuable essay on those adventurers published under the title of *Des grandes Compagnies au quatorzième siècle*, by E. de Fréville, in the *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes*, t. iii, 1st. series, p. 258, and t. v, p. 232.

Those *condottieri* had been driven out of France by Bertrand du Guesclin; but the negotiations between their leaders and Don Enrique de Trastamare were managed by marshal Arnoul d'Audrehem and Charles V. The treaties are of date July 22, and August 13, 1362. (D. Vaissete, *Histoire générale de Languedoc*, t. iv, p. 316, 317; Pr. Mérimée, *Histoire de don Pedro I<sup>er</sup>, roi de Castille*, p. 368, note 2.)

2096. The birth of Richard II. at Bordeaux is recorded by Froissart 6th January 1367. See t. vii, p. iii, note, and b. iv.

2096. The history of the life and fate of Richard II., son of the Black Prince and successor to Edward III., his grand-father, (1377-1399) is too well known to give matter for a note; but it is not unseasonable to mention a poem which might be considered as a sequel to that of Chandos Herald. The twentieth volume of the *Archæologia* contains (p. 295-723) another metrical chronicle in French, written by a contemporaneous rhymers and translated into English by John Webb. ✓

2124. Jean de Montfort, duke of Brittany, count of Montfort and earl of Richmond; was proclaimed duke of Brittany on the defeat of Charles of Blois at Auray in 1364; but upon concluding a treaty with Edward in 1372, he was driven thence and obliged to retire to England in the following year. He was elected into the order of the Garter in 1375, reinstated in his dominions in 1381, and died in November, 1399. A very excellent summary of his life and



especially of his conduct with regard to Olivier de Clisson, is given by G. Fr. Beltz, *Memorials*, etc., p. 195.

2128. Olivier, sire de Clisson, comte de Perhoet, etc., served at the battle of Auray in 1364, and continued in active service, for some years in company with Bertrand du Guesclin, until 1380, when he was made constable of France, in which capacity he commanded the vanguard at the battle of Rosebecq in 1382. In 1387 he was imprisoned by order of the duke of Brittany, and obtained his liberty only by the payment of an enormous ransom. He died the 5th of February 1407.

2128. Sir Robert Knolles, whom Froissart always calls *Canolle*, and who had, in company with Clisson, distinguished himself in the wars of Brittany, chiefly at the battle of Auray, is probably here intended. See farther on, note to l. 2329.

2156. Gaston de Foix was born in 1331, and died in 1391. Froissart has delineated his character in detail, but seems to have had no notion of the noble and gallant troubadour being also a brother in poetry. His surname *Phébus* is not accounted for; some say it was given from his fondness for the chase, others from his fair complexion, or auburn hair, a rarity in the Pyrenean countries, and others from his adoption of the sun as his armorial bearings.

In his *Dit du Florin*, Froissart confirms thus his praise of this prince in his chronicles :

Vraiment il n'y fault riens	Qu'on peut recorder de noble homme
Que largheces et courtoisies,	Ne soyent en celui qu'on nomme
Honneur, sens et toutes prisiés	Gaston, le bon conte de Fois.

He was renowned then « pour le plus able et soubtil homme d'armes qui fust en toutes les routes, et le mieulz amés de tous povres compagnons <sup>1</sup>. »

2156. Gaston Phébus III., son of Gaston, comte de Foix, and Eleanor, daughter of Bernard, comte de Cominges; he was very fond

<sup>1</sup> Luce's Froissart, t. iv, p. 186, l. 24. Cf. t. v, p. xxvi, xli, xlvii, lv. As a true knight, *cavallero determinado*, he had a motto in two lines of French rhyme.

of cynegetics, and at first adhered to the English party <sup>1</sup>, contrary to his father <sup>2</sup>. Having been appointed by Charles V. governor of Guienne and Languedoc, which government he held until 1381, he gave a power of attorney for the liberation of Sir Thomas de Felton, seneschal of Aquitaine <sup>3</sup>, and died in 1391 at the advanced age of eighty years.

2176. Dax, the Roman *Aquæ Tarbellicæ*, now a seat of sous-préfecture in the département des Landes, was particularly noted for its warm springs, and its remarkable mural fortification doomed to fall, some years ago, by order of its town council, in spite of Léo Drouyn and the late M. de Caumont; here are also the remains of an amphitheatre, of a very humble kind, still used at times for bull, or rather cow fights.

The gallant author of the *Illustrations of the Anglo-French Coinage*, whom we have had already occasion to quote and who may be consulted with advantage (see p. 86, 87, 96, 97, 145-157 <sup>4</sup>), is bold enough to state, p. 147, note, that the Black Prince, previous to entering Spain, held his court for three or four months at Dax, where his house « is still pointed out; » adding that he coined money there, and that the supporter of Don Pedro el Cruel did the same at Tarbes, on his way across the Pyrenees. We never heard of those circumstances; but it is never too late to learn.

<sup>1</sup> See a letter of Gaston-Phébus to the Black Prince to inform him of his visit at Angoulême, or Périgueux, and to hunt with Chaundos's dogs. (*Archives historiques du département de la Gironde*, t. iv, p. 111, n° LXXXVIII. 3 August 1360.)

Four years afterwards we find the Black Prince dating an act of confirmation of the marriage settlement between the Earl of Cambridge and the Duchess of Burgundy: *Donné d nostre chastel d'Engoulesme*. (Rymer, vol. iii, p. 761. Feb. 20, 1364.) There is another charter dated from the castle of Angoulême by the same 26 Jan. 1367. (Louvot's *Traité en forme d'abrégé de l'Histoire d'Aquitaine*, etc. Bordeaux, 1659, 4to., vol. ii, p. 83-89.) If we are well informed, there was in that castle, which no longer exists, a room known by the name of *la chambre du Prince Noir*.

<sup>2</sup> A letter from Galois de la Baume, master of the cross-bowmen of the King of France, informs us that the count de Foix had entered Paris with the most part of his company, 1st September 1338. (*Archives de la Gironde*, p. 162. Cf. p. 100.)

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, t. viii, p. 197, n° LXX.

<sup>4</sup> Among the *desiderata*, we will limit ourselves to one. In 1344, Edward III. having ordered two different sorts of gold coins to be struck in the Tower of London, one with two leopards, the other with a single one, bespoke a similar work to be executed at Bordeaux. (*Rot. Vascon.*, 18 Edw. III., membr. 3.)

2189. No doubt the Black Prince felt inclined to enter Spain through the defile of Roncesvalles, a place of pilgrimage very well known in England, as we may judge by names. An hospital *Beate Mariæ de Rouncevalle* in Charing, London, is mentioned in the *Monasticon Anglicanum*, vol. ii, p. 443, and there was a Runceval-Hall in Oxford.

The hospital or chapel of St. Mary Rounceval, in the parish of St. Martin in the Fields, was undoubtedly a cell to the priory of Roncevaux (Span. *Roncesvalles* in Navarre), and was endowed with lands.

2194. Now Miranda de Arga, province of Navarre, diocese of Pampeluna, on the Arga, not to be confounded with Miranda de Ebro, a town situated on that river and in the diocese of Burgos.

2202. Mosen Martin Enriquez, seigneur de Lacarre. In the convention between Pedro, King of Navarre, and the Prince of Wales, 23rd of September 1366, he is appointed as one of the plenipotentiary agents of the same King, and is styled « mesire Martin Henrriquiz, sire de Lacarre, » and also *consanguineus noster et vexillarius regni nostri Caroli, regis Navarræ*. (Rymer's *Fædera*, vol. iii, p. 800, 802. A. D. 1366.) Upon the capture of the King of Navarre we find him governor of that country. See Yanguas y Miranda, *Diccionario de Antigüedades del Reino de Navarra*, t. ii, Pamplona, 1840, 4to., p. 157-164. Cf. Rymer's *Fædera*, 1st ed., vol. viii, p. 755, and 3d ed., t. iii, pars iv, p. 90, col. i. (*De Conductu, marescallo Navarræ*. West., 15th Oct. 1393.)

2221. Froissart also speaks of the confirmation of the treaty between the three Princes at Peyrehorade; ed. Luce, t. vii, p. v.

2247. Hugh de Hastings served in Flanders 14 Edw. III., in the 16 Edw. III. was summoned to Parliament as a baron. In 1346, as « *consanguineus regis* » he was appointed the king's lieutenant in Flanders and commander of his forces there, and in the following year took part in the expedition into Brittany in the retinue of John, Duke of Lancaster; in 33 Edw. III. he was in the wars of Gascony, and in 43 Edw. III. served again in France under the same duke.

We do not know whether Hugh was the founder of the *bastide* of his name in the Landes of Gascony; but we are aware that it was in existence as early as 1341. See *Rot. Vasc.*, 15 Edw. III., membr. 15;

ap. Rymer, vol. ii, pars ii, p. 1169. *De Portu apud bastidam de Hastings habendo.*

2248. Sir William Beauchamp, of Bergavenny, fourth son of Thomas, earl of Warwick. The present occasion appears to have been his introduction to active service; he was afterwards at Limoges and Montpaon, and in 1373 in the campaign in France under the Dukes of Lancaster and Brittany. In 1376, he was elected into the order of the Garter; in 1380 and afterwards he served in Brittany and Spain, and was appointed in 1383 captain of Calais, which appointment he held until 1389. In 1392, he was summoned to Parliament as baron of Bergavenny; and on the accession of Henry IV. appointed justiciary of South Wales, and governor of the castle and county of Pembroke. He died on the 8th of May 1411.

2251. John, son to Ralph, lord Nevil of Raby. In 1360, he was knighted; in 1369, invested with the Garter, and in the following year appointed admiral of the Fleet Northward. In 1376, he was impeached upon his conduct in Brittany, but acquitted. In 1378, he was appointed lieutenant of Aquitaine, and in the same year with the Earl of Northumberland retook Berwick, after which he departed for his government. He died in October 1388. In Rymer's *Fœdera* may be seen, from the Gascon and other rolls, notices of his prisoners, with the negociations for their respective ransoms.

The Nevilles were so widely spread in England that we are unable to tie to any branch « Bernard de Neufville, » esquire, captain of Caudrot in 1342. See Bertrand's *Etude sur Froissart*, p. 87. Later occur a Jean de Neuville (Luce's *Froissart*, t. vi, p. LXXXII), and another whom we cannot identify.

A petition directed to King Henry IV. by Monot de Cantalop, a Gascon esquire, and two brothers of his, mentions a lord of Nevill as having been a lieutenant of Richard II. in their country. « Et soit ensi, says the applicant, qu'ils aient .j. houstiel appellé *Camarsac* près de vostre ville de Bourdeaux, lequiel jà grant temps fut amblé et tolu par les Franceois à l'escuer de qui estoit; vient après le seigneur de Nevill', lequiel estoit lieutenant de vostre predecesseur, cui Dieu absoille! » etc. (Cottonian Library, Vespasian, F. xiii, fol. 25 recto, n° 31.) — The remainder of the document, which may be interesting

for an antiquarian lawyer or a historian of Bordeaux, would be out of place here.

2259. Froissart says that he served under Chandos with 30 lancers at Auray; but a sire de Rais, had fought there on the side of Charles de Blois, and had been taken prisoner by Chandos. (Lobineau, *Hist. de Bretagne*, t. i, p. 294, 336.) In 1370 he again served under Bertrand du Guesclin, but with the Duke of Brittany in 1372, and was one of the 200 lances under Olivier de Clisson in 1377. On the 17th of August, 1381, the barony of Rais was ceded to the Duke of Brittany by Jeanne, dame de Rais, daughter of the late Giraud de Rais, probably the individual of the text.

2262. In Anselme, *Hist. gènéral.*, etc., t. vii, p. 512, we find a daughter of Louis Bouchard, sire d'Aubeterre, married in 1379 to Péan de Maillé, seigneur de Brezé, and, and at p. 17 mention is made of a Savary Bouchard, sire d'Aubeterre, marrying in 1418 a Marguerite de Montbazon.

2263. Garcia du Castel, as clearly shown by his name, was a native of the Pyrenean region. In the third book of Froissart's chronicles, Espaing or Espan du Leu (a fief situated at Oraas, Basses-Pyrénées, arr. Orthez, cant. Sauveterre) riding along with the wandering chronicler on the road of Lourdes, positively states that origin : « Messire Garcis du Chastel, un moult sage homme et vaillant chevalier de ce pays-ici et bon François. » See Luce's Froissart, vol. vi, p. xxiii.

Garcie du Chastel, according to Lobineau, (*Hist. de Bret.*, t. i, p. 383,) was afterwards one of the 200 lances under Olivier de Clisson, and in 1379 promised his service to the Duke of Brittany. He seems to be included as one of those who had broken the treaty with the King of France, in Edward's charter, *de frangentibus pacis puniendis*, (Rymer's *Fœdera*, t. iii, p. 808,) where he is called *Gassiot du Castel*.

2265. Gérard, or Gaillart, de la Motte. He appears as one of the 200 lances under Olivier de Clisson, unless by the person there mentioned is intended Robert de la Motte, afterwards named as one of the league for the defence of Brittany. (Lobineau, *Hist. de Bret.*, t. i, p. 421.)

2266. Aymery de Rochechouart, sire de Mortemart, son of



Aymery de Rochechouart, taken prisoner at Crécy; he was made seneschal of Limousin in 1384, was appointed captain general of Poitou and Saintonge in 1392, and died in 1397.

2267. Called by Froissart and Barnes *Sir Robert de Cheney*.

2269. Called by the same writers *Sir Richard Curton* or *Courton*.

2270. Sir William de Felton, brother of Sir Thomas; he fell in a skirmish with the French and Spaniards shortly before the battle of Nájera (see line 2754); he was then seneschal of Poitou.

2271. Barnes, Johnes and Buchon are at variance as to the identity of William le Botiller; the first calls him William Butler of Oversley, in Warwickshire; and that this knight is intended appears from an entry in the French Rolls, 29 Edw. III., membr. 9, where in 1355, letters of protection are granted to Willelmus the Botiller (1<sup>o</sup> with Walterus Manny, Thomas Chute; 2<sup>o</sup> Nicholaus Burnet, Robertus Marny, « alii milites et chivalers, ») on the point of going abroad. Cf. Carte, *Catalogue des Rolles François*, p. 57; and Kervyn's Froissart, t. xx, p. 365.

In the same record (39 Edw. III., membr. 10) we find at the date of 1365: « Willielmus Percehay, Johannes Aunsel, ac Thomas filius et heres Henrici Peverell, in partes transmarinas profecturi, habent literas de generali atornatu. » (*Cat. des R. Fr.*, p. 92.)

2275. In the safe-conduct for the parties forming the retinue of the Duke of Lancaster, Robert Hauley is styled *chivaler*. (Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. iii, p. 812.) At the battle of Nájera the count de Denia, a Spanish nobleman, became the prisoner of Hauley and Shakell, and his son was delivered into their hands as a hostage. He was afterwards claimed by the Duke of Lancaster, and upon their refusing to give him up they were committed to the Tower, and afterwards, 11th August 1378, murdered in the Sanctuary at Westminster. See Collins's History of John of Gaunt, at the end of that of the Black Prince, Lond. 1740, 8vo., p. 37. Hauley was buried in Westminster Abbey; the inscription on his tomb may be seen in Weever's *Ancient funeral monuments*, p. 484.

2282. Stephen de Cosington we find first mentioned in the retinue of Henry, Earl of Derby, afterwards Duke of Lancaster, in the expedition of 1345. In 1349, he was appointed with Richard

Talbot and John de Carleton to renew the oath of fealty in the towns of Flanders. In 1351, he was again appointed with Sir Frank van Hale, knight of the Garter, to treat with Louis, count of Flanders. In 1355, letters of protection were granted him, then in the retinue of the Prince of Wales. Letters of safe-conduct are again addressed to him, *in partes transmarinas profecturus*, dated the 16th April, 1364, and again on his going into Gascony, the 26th of June, in the same year. He appears to have been at Crécy, Poitiers and Nájera.

2319. Louis d'Harcourt, vicomte de Châtellerault, son of Jean d'Harcourt, who was killed at Crécy. He was governor and lieutenant general in Normandy in 1360, and died in August 1388.

2321. Sir Thomas and Sir William de Felton were at this time seneschals of Aquitaine and Poitou. The names of the seneschals following are taken from Chandos's list at the end of the poem; they were John Harpesden of Saintonge<sup>1</sup>, Sir Richard Baskerville of Agenais<sup>2</sup>, more correctly Baldwin de Treville, as appears from writs issued to him as seneschal of Poitou in 1366, Thomas Walkfare of Périgord and Quercy, and John Roche of Bigorre. See above, l. 2270.

2322. He is again mentioned by Froissart as serving under the Earls of Cambridge and Pembroke, at la Roche-sur-Yon, etc.

2324. « Jean Helye et Aymenou. » John and Elias were afterwards with Sir John Chandos at Montauban and elsewhere. See above note on line 1320.

2327. Roger, grand-son of Roger, second lord de la Warre, was at the night attack on Calais, at Romorantin and Poitiers, where, for being instrumental in taking the French King, the crampet or chape of a sword was added as a badge to his armorial bearings. He was summoned to Parliament 14th August. 36 Edw. III. and 1st June, 37 Edw. III. He died in 1370.

2329. « Sir Robert Knolles, says Weever, was but of mean paren-

<sup>1</sup> Sir John Harpeden calls himself « seneschal de Xaintonge, » châtelain and captain of Fontenay-le-Comte, in a deed dated Niort November 17, 1369. (B. Fillon, *Jean Chandos, connétable d'Aquitaine*, Fontenay, 1856, p. 30, 31.) On another side, Baldwin de Freville is mentioned as seneschal of Poitou in a bond subscribed at Burgos by D. Pedro, 12 May 1367; the result of which is that in 1369 the aforesaid Baldwin had not been long seneschal of Saintonge. See Luce's Froissart, t. vii, p. lxxvi, note 1.

<sup>2</sup> Sir Thomas Molineux occurs as seneschal of Agenais a few years after this.



tage, but by his valour advanced from a common soldier in the French wars under Edward III. to a great commander. » Froissart speaks of him in 1357, as at the head of a band of free companies in Normandy, conquering every town and castle before him. In the following year Henr. de Knyghton tells us that « dictus Robertus Cnollis ad xij. leugas ab Avinonia venit, et tantam virtutem secum duxit quod Papa et cardinales non andebant extra palatium moram facere, et quasi deludentes intra se dicebant :

« Roberte Cnollys, per te fit Francus mollis ;  
Ipsius tollis prædas, dans vulnera collis. »

*De Eventibus Angliæ*, lib. iv, ap. Twysden, *Hist. Angl. Script.* X, col. 2620, l. 56.

He was also one of the combatants at the battle of the Trente. After having uttered an idle history concerning what was called *Knolles's* mitres, Weever adds that « to make himself well beloved of his country, he built a good fair bridge at Rochester over the Medway, with a chapel and chauntry at the east end thereof. He built nunn at the Grayfriars, London, and an hospital at Rome for English travellers and pilgrims. He deceased at his manor of Scone Thorpe in Norfolk, and was buried by the lady Constance, his wife, in the church of Grayfriars, London, 15th August, 1407. » (*Funeral Monum.*, p. 436.)

Sir Robert Knolles was created a knight of the Garter by Richard II. and a great landed proprietor in Brittany by Duke John de Montfort in 1365 ; but already he kept a large estate, as we may judge by letters of conduct granted to his wife, on her way home with a retinue of 10 squires, 20 archers and a multitude of servants. (*Rot. Franc.*, 34 Edw. III., membr. 13 ; ap. Rymer, vol. iii, p. 480. Cf. Lobineau, *Histoire de Bretagne*, t. i, from p. 343 to 433 *passim*.)

2333. John, second Lord Bouchier, son of Robert Lord Bouchier, who was one of the distinguished heroes of Crécy. He went with the Black Prince into Gascony in 1355 ; was at the battle of Auray in 1364, and employed in France in 1369, 1375, 1377. In 1384, he was appointed governor in chief of Flanders, elected into the Garter on the death of Sir Robert Newman in 1392, and he died on the 21st of May 1400.

2363. L. Cl. Brugelles has published the last will of Jean I., comte d'Armagnac, in 1373, (*Chroniques ecclésiastiques du diocèse d'Auch*, etc., Toulouse, 1746, 4to., preuves of the 3d. part, p. 83, 84.). See, on the same, above l. 1919, and farther on, l. 3371.

2369. Sir Perdiccas d'Albret is mentioned as one of the leaders of the free companies, who left Enrique the bastard upon the Prince's determination to help Don Pedro. After the siege of Bourdeille and the illness of the Prince, we find that he had deserted the interests of England for France, and was at Cahors at the head of 300 companions. He was however again brought over to the Prince's party by the agency of Sir Robert Knolles, with whom he had before served. On the death of Sir Thomas de Felton, he was invested with the barony of Caumont in Gascony; all which estate he bequeathed to his nephew on condition that he remained loyal to the English. See Luce's Froissart, t. vi, p. LXXXI, t. vii, p. LXVIII, note 4, and LXXV, note; B. Fillon, *Jean Chandos*, etc., p. 30-34.

Bertrucat d'Albret was not put in his place by Anselme in his pedigree of the Albret family, but mentioned by him under the name of *Bernicat*, or *Berneguet*, as having given in 1365 a receipt of 300 gold francs to Jean, duke of Berry, for the sale of the castle of Belloc. See *Procès-verbal de délivrance à Jean Chandos, commissaire du roi d'Angleterre, des places françaises abandonnées par le traité de Brétigny*, etc. par A. Bardonnet. Niort, 1867, gr. 8vo. (Extrait des *Mémoires de la Société de Statistique, Sciences et Arts du département des Deux-Sèvres*), p. 84.

2371, 2374. The bastard of Breteuil and Naudon de Bageran are mentioned by Froissart as in this year (1366) in conjunction with Sir Perdiccas d'Albret, having defeated the viscount of Narbonne and the seneschal of Toulouse at Montauban, and taken many prisoners, whom the Pope ordered them to dismiss without ransom. (Kervyn's Froissart, t. vii, p. 130, 132, 133, 137-139.)

2375. The name of *Lamit* is included in M. Luce's list, as follows :  
« Desous le pennon Saint Jorge et le baniere de monsieur Jean Chandos, estoient les Compagnes, où bien avoit douze cens pennonchians. Là y avoit des bons chevaliers et escuiers, durs, hardis et appers, telz que monsieur Perducas de Labreth, monsieur Robert Seni <sup>1</sup>, monsieur Robert Briket, monsieur Garsis dou Chastiel,

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps the same as Robert de Cheney; however we would propose to read *Sevi*, for *Sevin* or *Seguin*. As to *Beguey*, we have seen that it was the patronymic name of a powerful family of Bordeaux. On the eighth of February 1348, Edward III. gave to Peter Beguey of the Rousselle, Bordeaux, the castle and castellany of Soubize, with its belongings, during

monsieur Gaillart Vighier, Jehan Cressuelle, Naudon de Bagherant, Aymeniou d'Ortige, Perrot de Savoie, le bouch Camus, le bouch de Lespare, le bouch de Bretuel, Espiot et Lamit et plusieurs autres. » (*Chroniques de Jean Froissart*, t. vii, p. 39.) — Farther on we meet again « Lamit de Maletterre, Breton. » (*Ibid.* p. 304. Cf. p. 2, 65, l. 19, 222, 244, 263, 287, 354, 410.)

2433. Compare the letter as given by Froissart. It agrees nearly word for word with the text.

2459. Sir Thomas Ufford, son of Robert, first earl of Suffolk; succeeded to the stall in St. George's Chapel on the death of the earl of March, one of the founders of the Order in 1359-1360. G. Fr. Beltz imagines that he fell in the skirmish before the battle of Najera, under Sir Thomas de Felton. (*Hist. of the Garter*, p. 128.) His son, William de Ufford, was, in 1376, with William de Montagu, earl of Say, appointed admiral of England (*Rot. Franc.*, 50 Edw. III., membr. 14; ap. Rymer, t. iii, p. 1057.)

2464. Sir Simon Burley was first in active service at the sea-fight with the Spaniards off Winchelsea. In 1369, he was taken prisoner in Poitou, and released in the following year, when he was with the Prince at the sacking of Limoges. On the accession of Richard II., he had the custody of Windsor Castle given him. In 1381, having concluded the treaty of alliance with Wenceslaus at Nuremberg, he was rewarded with the Garter; in 1383, he was appointed warden of the Cinque Ports, in 1387 was impeached at the instigation of the duke of Gloucester, and in the following year, on the 15th of May, was beheaded on Tower Hill <sup>1</sup>.

his life time, on condition that the aforesaid Peter would provide for their defence; moreover the King authorized him to take every year 500 gold florins *de scuto* out of the worldly goods of the rebels being on the borders, that is to say in the territorial circle of the said castle and castellany. See Bertrand, *Etude sur les Chroniques de Froissart*, p. 50, note.

<sup>1</sup> The following curious entry is from the Issue Roll, 16 Ric. II. 7th of March:

« To the venerable father John, bishop of Salisbury. In money paid to him in discharge of 20 marks which the lord the King commanded to be paid him of his gift for the price of a bed of green tarteryn, embroidered with ships and birds, consisting of a covering, a tester, and a half coverlet, with three curtains, valued at the same sum, which bed belonged to Sir Simon de Burley, knight, deceased, forfeited to the King by reason of a judgment pronounced against the said Simon; L13. 6s. 8d. (Devon, *Issues of the Exchequer*, p. 250.)

2478. On the taking of the King of Navarre, compare Froissart, Kervyn's edit., t. vii, p. 163, 164.

2505. Barnes calls this pass *the pass of Echarri Arana*, Froissart has *Sarris* and below *Espuke* (Guipuzcoa). By *Sarris* may be intended either *Sarries* in the valley of Salazar, or *Echarri*, another valley of Navarre.

2512. Salvatierra, a town of the province of Alava, which must not be confounded with Salvatierra de Aragon, a strong place seized upon by the King of Navarre in 1364, nor with Salvatierra, partido de Cinco Villas, diocese of Pampeluna. See Yanguas y Miranda, *Diccionario de Antigüedades del Reino de Navarra*, t. iii, p. 100.

2605. Sir Thomas Holland, eldest son of Thomas, first earl of Kent. He joined the army of the Prince in Aquitaine, in his sixteenth year. In 1375, he was in the expedition under the earl of Cambridge and duke of Brittany, and upon his return with the army into England, was admitted into the order of the Garter. He was first summoned to Parliament as Earl of Kent the 16th of July, 1381, having in the previous year been constituted marshal of England. He died the 25th of April 1397.

2607. Hugh, son of Sir Hugh Courtenay, one of the founders of the order of the Garter; he married Maud, sister of Sir Thomas Holland, above mentioned. In 1370, he was summoned to Parliament amongst the barons of the realm, and died in February 1374.

2608. Sir Philip and Sir Peter Courtenay were the sons of Hugh, second earl of Devon, and brother to Sir Hugh Courtenay above mentioned. They together attacked the Spanish fleet in 1378, when Sir Philip was severely wounded and his brother taken prisoner, but liberated in the following year. Sir Peter afterwards became in 1388 principal chamberlain and knight of the Garter, in 1390 constable of Windsor Castle; he died the 2nd of February 1405. See Esra Cleveland's *Genealogical History of the noble and illustrious Family of Courtenay*. Exonæ, 1735, folio, p. 197; and Beltz, p. 328.

2609. Called by Johnes and Barnes *Sir John Covet*, but *John Trivet* in the affair of Montauban. In Rymer's *Fœdera*, 47 Edw. III., we find a grant of certain lands formerly held by the sire d'Albret made to Nicholas Bond, for good service rendered the Prince of Wales (*Rot. Vasc.*, 47 Edw. III., m. 8; ap. Rymer, vol. iii, p. 994, 995.)

Of the family of the above name, who has produced a dominican friar, Nicholas Triveth, author of a Latin chronicle of the Plantagenets from 1135 to 1307, we know only his father, Sir Thomas Triveth, one of the King's justices, and another of the same name mentioned under the year 1384, in Rymer's *Fœdera*, 7 Ric. II.

2611. He is named as one of the captains of the free companies. See Collins, *Life of the Prince of Wales*, p. 187.

2613. Walter de Urswick, constable of Richmond Castle, we find appointed to choose a hundred archers, for the use of John, Duke of Lancaster, in 1366, and in the same year he has protection to pass over into Aquitaine. (Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. iii, p. 812.) In the following year is a grant of L40. a-year made to him by the Duke of Lancaster to enable him the better to maintain his rank of knight, which he had received at the Duke's hands on the day of the battle of Najera (*Ibid.*, p. 825); in 1369, he is again appointed to choose archers for the service of the Duke of Lancaster, and in the same year has protection to pass with him, *ad partes transmarinas*. (*Ibid.*, p. 799, 864, 871.)

2614. This individual is called *Demery*, *Danmore* and *Danvers*; but the easiest solution to the difficulty appears to be found in the protection afforded to Thomas Davenport and others in conjunction with Walter Urswyck, for free passage to Aquitaine, in the company of the Duke of Lancaster, 1366. (Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. iii, p. 326, 812.) He is again mentioned with John de Grendon, Urswyck and others, in the retinue of the same duke, in 1369. (*Ibid.*, p. 871.)

2648. Don Tello de Castilla, brother to Enrique. He died at Medellin in Estramadura in 1370, not without suspicion of poison.

2724. It is difficult to identify Sir Richard Taunton, and Degory Says, the former being called by Barnes and Johnes *Causton*, the latter *Dangouses*, and the *Earl of Angus*; but it is scarcely possible to have been Umfraville, at that time Earl of Angus. The nearest name to that in the text seems to be *De Grey*, born by Henry de Grey, *chivalier*, who crossed in the retinue of the Duke of Lancaster, in 1366. (Rymer, vol. iii, p. 812.)

2725. Ralph de Hastings. Froissart and Barnes have *Hugh*; but



that the text is right is probable from entries taken from the Gascon and French Rolls, published in Rymer's *Fœdera*, where in 1366 and 1369 are notices of letters of safe-conduct, addressed to « Radulphus de Hastynges » in the retinue of the Duke of Lancaster. In 1373, we find him also appointed as a mediator in the quarrel between Henry, lord Percy, and Douglas. In 1 and 4 Ric. II. he was sheriff of Yorkshire. According to Dugdale, he was the son of Sir Ralph de Hastings and Margaret de Herle, and died in 1397. See the *Baronage of England*, t. i, p. 579, col. 2. In the *Fœdera*, vol. iii, p. 862, 888, there are two entries relating to a John of Hastings; and in *The Siege of Carlaverock in the xxviii. Edward I. A. D. mccc.*, the arms of Hastings, or, a maunch gules, an ornament very common at the time. (Edit. Sir N. Harris Nicolas, London, 1828, 4to., p. 38-39, 42-43, 56-57, etc.)

2727. Gaillard Vigier. (Froissart, ed. Kervyn, t. ix, p. 497.) He is named as one of the captains of the free companions. In the Gascon Rolls, 5 Ric. II. is an entry *de accusatione versus Galiardum Beguer faciendis, audiendis et terminandis*. See above, p. 190, l. 2799, and p. 361, note to l. 2375.

Before being a family name, *Vigier*, *Beguer*, was a title of office. See *Administration municipale et institutions judiciaires de Bordeaux pendant le moyen-âge*, par M. Rabanis, in the *Revue historique de droit français et étranger*, etc. 7<sup>e</sup> année, 6<sup>e</sup> livraison, novembre-décembre, 1861, p. 461-523.

2930. Lobineau has *Naddres*, or *Nevaret*; but it seems clear from the mention of the river and an evident distinction between the two places, that *Nájera* is here intended.

2975. The letter is to be found also in Froissart's chronicle. It differs essentially in point of fact and style from the authentic letter dated from Navarrete in Castile, April 1st, 1367, and addressed by the Prince of Wales to D. Enrique, count of Trastamare. The document has been published by Rymer both in Castilian and Latin. (*Fœdera*, ed 1830, vol. iii, pars II, p. 823, 824.) The reply of D. Enrique, who entitles himself King of Castile and Leon, is dated *Nájera* April 2, and has reached us under its double shape, Castilian and Latin. (*Ibid.*, p. 824, 825. Cf. Ayala, *Crónica del rey D. Pedro*, 1367, cap. XI, p. 555, 556.)

3090. Don Sancho de Castilla, brother of Enrique and Don Tello.

He was created by Enrique, count of Albuquerque, and married in 1373 Beatrix, daughter of Pedro, King of Portugal, by Inez de Castro. In the following year he was murdered in the streets of Burgos in endeavouring to stop an affray between his followers and those of Gonzales de Mendoza. (H. A. Dillon, *The History of the reign of Peter the Cruel*, etc. London, 1788, 8vo., vol. ii, p. 152.)

3091. The count de Dene or Denia, marquis of Villena, of the house of Aragon, was taken prisoner at Nájera by Hawley and Shakel, of whom we have before spoken. He obtained his own liberty by leaving with his captors his son as a hostage; who, the ransom agreed upon not having been paid, remained in their custody until, on their refusal to give him up, at the command of the duke, the two esquires were murdered at Westminster.

In the French and Gascon Rolls are several entries respecting the count of Denia and the detention of his son Alfonso. See Rymer's *Fœdera*, third edition, t. iii, pars 4, p. 91, col. 1. (*Super financia comitis de Denia sepememorata, de represaliis*, 23-25 Oct. 1393.)

3093. Pierre de Villaines, knight, surnamed *le Bègue*, who derived his title from his fief of Villaines (départ. of Seine-et-Oise, arrond. of Pontoise, canton of Ecouen), mentioned as early as May 1360 in the capacity of seneschal of Carcassone and Béziers (Arch. Nat., JJ 91, n° 302) seems to have kept the post as late as the end of 1362. Appointed chamberlain to the dauphin, duke of Normandy, he made war in the first month of 1363 in the neighbourhood of Falaise, where he was made prisoner. (*Ibid.*, JJ. 92, n° 208.) There undoubtedly he became acquainted with du Guesclin, who took him to Spain, where he fought at Nájera, was taken prisoner and exchanged with marshal d'Audingham, for Sir Hugh Hastings and other knights. In the year following the battle he was rewarded for his services with a grant of the county of Ribadeo in Galicia. According to Froissart, he was the captor of Don Pedro, when attempting to escape from the castle of Montiel in 1368.

By the by, the last editor of Froissart's chronicles remarks that the gallant general of the French forces had taken along with him some of the chieftains and a certain number of soldiers of the garrisons of the towns he had passed on his way to Spain. It was thus that the captain of Lyons, Jean de Saint-Martin, knight, was killed at Nájera.



(*Ibid.*, JJ. 100, n° 135 ; JJ. 99, n° 494), with « Garcilaso de la Vega, Suer Perez de Quiñones, Sancho Sanchez de Rojas, Juan Rodriguez Sarmiento, Juan de Mendoza, Ferrand Sanchez de Angulo é otros fasta quatrocientos omes de armas. » (*Crónica del rey Don Pedro*, t. i, p. 557, 1367, cap. xix.)

3095. From many entries in the Issue Rolls of 44 and 46 Edw. III., it would appear that this knight was taken prisoner at Nájera, and confined in the Tower, where he was allowed by the King two shillings a-day for his support. In the 47 Edward III. is also an entry of L14. for divers clothes, the gift of the King to John de Nevell, against the feast of the Nativity, « to wit, for eleven yards of black cloth, L2. 9s. 9d., and for making up the same, L6. 8d.; also for the fur of one gown, one surtout and a coat, L11. 3s. 10d. (Devon, *Issue Rolls of Thomas de Brantingham*, p. 214; *Issues of the Exchequer*, p. 193, 196.)

3126. Gomez Carillo de Quintana, whose death after the battle is described below, l. 4156.

3127. The prior of San Juan is not mentioned either by Froissart or Ferreras, as having been in the action.

3130. In Ferreras he is spoken of as having been left at Toledo by Enrique with six hundred horse, and is styled Don Garcia Alvarez, grand master of Santiago. Dillon, vol. ii, p. 51, calls him *Sanchez Alcososo*, and says that he was put to death after the battle with Gomez Carillo.

3133. According to Ferreras, vol. iv, p. 392, Don Martin Lopez de Cordova, where he is mentioned as having been left by Don Pedro in command of the city of Cordova; if so, it would appear that he must have changed his party immediately after the battle.

3180. Froissart's narration of the same ceremony occurs, book 1st, § 578; t. vii, p. 34, 282 : « Là aporta messires Jehans Chandos sa baniere entre ses mains, que encores n'avoit nulle part boutée hors, au Prince et li dist ensi : « Monseigneur, vechi ma baniere : je vous le baille par tel maniere qu'il le vous plaise à desveloper et que aujourd'hui je le puisse lever ; car, Dieu merci, j'ai bien de quoi, terre et hyretage pour tenir estat, ainsi qu'il appartient à ce. » Adonc prisent li princes et li rois dans Pietre, qui là estoit, la baniere entre leurs mains, et developerent, qui estoit d'argent à un peu aguisiet de gueules, et li

rendirent par le hanste en disant ensi : « Tenés, messire Jehan, veci votre baniere : Dixx vous en laist vostre preu faire. » Lors se partist messire Jehans Chandos, et raporta sa baniere entre ses gens, et la mist en mi yaus, et si dist : « Seigneur, veci ma baniere et la vostre ; or le gardés ensi que la nostre. » Adonc se prisent li compaignon, qui en furent tous resjoy, et disent que, s'il plaisoit à Dieu et à mousigneur Saint George, il le garderoient bien et s'en acquitteroient à leur pooir. Si demora la baniere ens ès mains d'un bon escuier englès que en appelloit *Guillaume Aleri*, qui le porta ce jour, et qui blen et loyaument s'en acquitta en tous estas. »

M. Luce remarks in a note of his edition of Froissart's chronicle, t. vii, p. xiv, that John Chandos possessed the landed rank of a baronet, at least since Edward III. had given him in 1360 the splendid estate of Saint-Sauveur-le-Vicomte ; but such grant having taken place a short while after the conclusion of the treaty of Brétigny, the new viscount had not had an occasion to raise or otherwise to display, his banner on a battle field.

On Chandos at his estate see again Luce's Froissart, t. vii, p. xxviii, note 1, 69 and 104.

3225. In the Gascon Rolls, 38 Edw. III. (Rymer, vol. iii, p. 727) are letters of protection addressed to Hugh Curson, going into Gascony, in the retinue of the Prince of Wales. Twenty years later, occurs in the same Rolls, June 1358, a *dom. de Curton* going to Germany.

— In 43 Edw. III. (Rymer, p. 871), are similar letters addressed to Thomas de Eiton<sup>1</sup>, probably intended in the text, going *ad partes transmarinas* in the retinue of the Duke of Lancaster. Of Prior I find no mention elsewhere, unless Thomas Prior, *armiger*, having letters of protection, going into Picardy. (*Rot. Fr.* 402.)

3226. Froissart speaks of Sir William de Farrington as narrowly escaping before Soubise, afterwards governor of Saintes, and then as one of those joining Sir Thomas de Felton and the Gascon Lords, going to assist Thouars. In 50 Edw. III. we find William de Faryndon, knight, appointed with John de Cornwaille and John de Fastolfe to

<sup>1</sup> There is a book, which we could not find in Paris, the *Scalacronica*, by Sir Thomas Gray of Heton, Knight, edited for the Maitland Club by the Rev. Joseph Stevenson (Edinburgh, 1836, 4to.) : is the author the same as the traveller mentioned above?

keep the truce with France, renewed in that year, 1376. (Rymer's *Fadera*, Record edit, vol. iii, part. ii, p. 1066.) In 1402, he had custody of the castle of Fronsac on the Dordogne, near Libourne (*Rot. Vasc.*, 4 Henry V. membr. 9), in 1412 was constable of the castle of Bordeaux, and in such capacity obtained letters of protection. (*Ibid.*, 4 Hen. IV., membr. 9, 3; 11, Hen. IV. membr. 15. — *Rot. Fr.* 4 and 5 Hen. IV., membr. 15.)

3227. Aimery de Rochechouart, viscount of that ilk, as they say in Scotland, was son of Lonis, son of Jean, 1st of the name killed at the battle of Poitiers, and of Jeanne de Sully, dame de Corbeffy, brother of John de Rochechouart, archbishop of Bourges (Anselme, *Hist. général.* etc., t. iv, p. 653. — *Gallia christiana*, t. i, p. 580. — *Histoire de la maison de Rochechouart*, par le général comte de Rochechouart. Paris, 1859, 4to., t. i, p. 134-148; t. ii, p. 308-316.) By a deed dated Paris, June 1369, Charles V granted to his beloved and feal cousin Louis, viscount of Rochechouart, 2000 pounds of rent settled on the castle and manor of Rochefort-sur-Charente, diocese of Maillezais, or, in case of need, on the island of Oléron, in the same diocese. (Arch. Nat., JJ 100, n° 137.)

3248. He is mentioned by Froissart as serving under the banners of the Duke of Lancaster and Chandos, as Sir John d'Ypre. (Kervyn's ed., t. xxiii, p. 306-309.)

3302. « Martin Ferrans, qui moult estoit, entre les Espagnolz, renommés d'outrage et de hardement. » (Ed. Luce, t. vii.)

3311. M. Siméon Luce thinks that Froissart borrowed the account of this fight from Chandos Herald's narration. See vol. vii, p. xv, 38, 285.

3353. Sir Thomas Percy, afterwards Earl of Worcester, younger brother to the first earl, Henry, of Northumberland, and second son of Henry Lord Percy. The first mention of him in the English records is that he was of the council of the Black Prince, at Bordeaux, in 1369. He was with the Earl of Pembroke in Anjou, attended Chandos on his last sally from Poitiers, whom he succeeded in 1370 as seneschal of Poitou, having previously held the seneschalship of la Rochelle. He was afterwards at Limoges, Montpaon, and was taken with the capital de Buch before Soubise. In 1376, he was invested with the order of the Garter; and was afterwards engaged on active service until 1389. He

was in 1392 and 1395 nominated ambassador to France to treat with the French King, and in 1397 was created Earl of Worcester. On the usurpation of Henry IV. he was continued in his situation as admiral of the fleet and steward of the household; in 1403, he rose up in arms against the King, and, having been taken prisoner at the battle of Shrewsbury, he was beheaded on the 23d of July in that year. Cf. Luce, t. vii, p. LXXX, note 3.

3355. Sir Walter Hewett in 1362 was captain of the castle of Colet in Brittany, (Rymèr, vol. iii, p. 642.) in the same year he was appointed keeper « omnium forestarum et aquarum de Poyters et Poyctou. » (*Ibid.*, p. 650.) In 1364, he had safe-conduct for himself with forty lances and one hundred bows, into Brittany. (*Ibid.*, p. 731.) In 1364, with Sir Richard Burley and Sir Robert Knolles, he had the command of the van at the battle of Auray. He is afterwards mentioned by Froissart as leader of one of the free Companies, who joined the Prince in his expedition into Spain; in 1368, he was governor of the Islands of Guernsey, Serk and Alderney, and of Jersey with the same islands in 1371. He was killed in a skirmish near Soissons in the autumn of 1373, whilst accompanying the expedition of the Duke of Lancaster.

3373. Berart d'Albret having declined to go with his father to the help of the King of France and having seized the castle of Gironde and Vayres, was completely disinherited of all his family property in 1319, 1333. (*Archives historiques de la Gironde*, t. vi, p. 367, 368, n° CLXX.) His son, bearer of the same name, a judge in the jurisdiction of Aquitaine, being prisoner, first of William de Beauchamp, afterwards of Thomas de Felton, obtained in 1374 a safe-conduct to travel in the English possessions on the continent. (*Rot. Franc.*, 48 Edw. III., membr. 7; ap. Rymer, vol. iii, p. 971, 973, 1017. Cf. *Rot. Vascon.*, 47 Edw. III. membr. 8-4.)

3445. John, son of Robert, Lord Ferrers, grand-son of Robert Earl of Derby, accompanied the expedition into Gascony, in 33 Edw. III. He married Elizabeth, widow of Fulke le Strange, and left by her Robert, his son and heir, at the time of father's death seven years of age. In some editions of Froissart, he is called *Raoul de Ferrieres*, who was captain of Calais in 1358, and in 1370 appointed to command

the fleet on the passage of Sir Robert Knolles and others. (*Rot. Fr.* 32 Edw. III., membr. 14 ; Rymer, vol. iii, p. 389, etc.)

M. Kervyn de Lettenhove has printed a certificate on behalf of another Ferrers, Aymon or Edmund, as being in his retinue « *ès parties de Gascoigne en le service nostre seigneur le roy au temps où mondit seigneur le roy arriva à Hogges.* » (*Froissart*, t. xxi, p. 192.)

3485. Froissart's expression (Luce's edit., t. vii, p. 411) is « *estoient bouté en une forte maison ouvrée et machonnée de pierre.* »

3504. In the Bodleian Library (Digby Ms. 166) is a poem of 560 rhythmical elegiac verses upon Prince Edward's Expedition into Spain, and the battle of Nájera, written by W. Burgensis, or Walter de Burgo, monk of Revesby. Analyzed by O. Coxe, that piece of poetry has been published in full by Thomas Wright in his *Political Poems and Songs relating to English History*, etc., vol. i, p. 94-122.

3528. This line has no precise meaning ; it is a common-place topic. A young maid says to Fergus, whom she does not know :

Par cele foi ke moi devés,  
Sire, jà n'ert à vous celés.

*Li Romans des aventures Fregus*, p. 207.

3578. Gomez Carillo and Sancho Sanchez Moscoso, great comendador de Santiago, delivered to D. Pedro, were at once beheaded before the tent and by the order of the King of Castile, on April 5, 1365. (*Crònica de D. Pedro primero*, t. i, cap. xix, A. D. 1367.)

3688. We must confess that our translation of *Haumonsque*, the name of a place taken by the Black Prince, is merely conjectural ; but, as people say in Spain, *un clavo saca al otro* : this renowned warrior directs, concerning his monuments in his will, « *qe entour laditte tombe soient dusze escuchons de laton, chacun de la largesse d'un pié, dont les syx seront de noz armez entiers, et les autres six des plumes d'ostruce boumont,* » etc. Must that word be translated by *above* (*Fr. amont*), or is there an allusion to a fact quite unknown ? It is no less remarkable that the motto on the shields of *laton*, or copper gilt, on the tomb of the Black Prince in Canterbury Cathedral, is not *boumont*, but *Ich diu* <sup>1</sup>. Cf. J. R. Planché, *Observations on the Mottoes*,

<sup>1</sup> *A Collection of all the Wills... of the Kings and Queens of England, Princes and Princesses of Wales*, etc. London, 1780, 4to., p. 67. — The will is found at p. 66 and finishes on p. 77. The Prince directs also that on his tomb he shall be placed « *tout armez de fier de guerre.* »



« Houmont » and « Ich Dien, » of *Edward the Black Prince*. (Archæologia, etc., vol. xxxii, p. 69-71 and 332-334; Thomas Willemont's *Heraldic Notices of Canterbury Cathedral*, etc., 4to.; Sir Samuel Rush Meyrick's *Critical Inquiry into Antient Armour*, etc. London, 1824 and 1844, fol. and 4to.)

3719. The knights that acted as the Prince's ambassadors on this occasion were Sir Nele Lorinch, al. Lornich, one of the founders of the order of the Garter, Sir Richard de Pontchardon and Sir Thomas Banastre, afterwards knight of the Garter. See Froissart, p. 19, 104, and Rymer, t. iii, p. 812.

« Monsieur Neel de Loreyng, chivalier » (*Rot. Franc.*, 21 Edw. III. membr. 14), al. Sir Nigel Loring, left a daughter Isabella, who married Robert, third baron Harington of Aldingham, co. Lancaster, whose monument is to be seen in Porlock church, Somerset. The tomb, illustrated by Mrs. Maria Halliday of Glenthorne (Torquay, 1882, 4to.), has been fancifully awarded to Sir N. Loring himself, although he was No. 20 of the knights of the Garter, a founder knight, who died in 1385 or 1386, and was buried at Dunstable.

3729. This imputation of disloyalty could only be a blot on one's character in the age of chivalry. Notwithstanding Chaucer gives D. Pedro the greatest commendations.

#### DE PETRO, REGE ISPANNIE.

O noble, o worthy Petro, glorie of Spayne,  
Whom Fortune heeld so by in magestee,  
Wel oughten men thy pitous deeth complayne !  
Out of thy lond thy brother made thee flee ;  
And after, at a sege, by subtiltee,  
Thou were bitrayed, and lad un-to his tente,  
Wher as he with his owen hond slow thee,  
Succeeding in thy regne and in thy rente.

The feeld of snow, with thegle of blak ther-inne,  
Caught with the lymrod, coloured as the glede,  
He brew this cursednes and al this sinne.  
The wikked nest was werker of this nede ;  
Nought Charles Olyver, that ay took hede  
Of trewthe and honour, but of Armorike  
Genylon Olyver, corrupt for mede,  
Broughte this worthy king in swich a brike.

The Monkes Tale, l. 3564-3580.

This passage, which casts a foul and unjust aspersion upon the character of both Bertrand du Guesclin and Olivier de Mauni, had long been a puzzle ; it was first cleared up by Mr. Furnivall in *Notes and Queries*, 4th series, vol. viii, p. 449, and more completely by Mr. Skeat, who has identified *wicked nest* with old French *Mau ni*. (See Chaucer of the Clarendon Press Series, 2nd edition. Oxford, 1877, post 8vo., p. 187.)

We will not expatiate any more on the Spanish Nero, but only state that there exists a chronological index of documents and works containing all the different appreciations of him : *Indice cronológico de algunos Documentos y obras que contienen juicios del rey Don Pedro (de Castilla, el Cruel)*. Por D. Aureliano Fernandez-Guerra y Orbe. (*Discursos leídos ante la Real Acad. de la Hist. en la... recepción de D. Francisco Javier de Salas*, Madrid, Fortanet, 1868, 4to., p. 179-200.)

3735. The invaders who had, on the faith of a popular fiction <sup>1</sup>, followed the Black Prince over the Pyrenees, were awfully disappointed. Knyghton says that the mortality among the English was so great, that scarcely a fifth part of them escaped ; Walsingham, that very many were attacked with dysentery and other sicknesses of which they died, and adds, that a report prevailed that the Prince was poisoned, so that from that time he never again enjoyed good health.

3845. Chandos Herald passes over in silence a fact, which must be mentioned here as it has been noticed by Froissart, t. vii, p. 59, and other chroniclers, one of whom speaks from hearsay. No doubt the bad faith of D. Pedro had determined the Black Prince to leave Spain ; but, tried by that sunny climate, he had another reason to oblige him to recross the Pyrenees : he was labouring under an incurable disease, and the remainder of his followers were in no better condition. « Edwardus Princeps, per idem tempus, ut dicebatur, intoxicatus fuit ; a quo quidem tempore usque ad finem vitæ nunquam gavisus est corporis sanitate. Sed et plures, strenui et valentes, post victoriam Hispanicam, fluxu ventris et aliis infirmitatibus perierunt ibidem, » etc. (Thomæ Walsingham, *Hist. Angl.* London, 1863, 8vo., p. 305,

<sup>1</sup> Far in see, bi west Spaynge,  
Is a lond ihote Cokayne ;

Ther nis lond under hevenriche  
Of wel of godnis bit illiche.

Warton's *Hist. of English Poetry*, vol. i, p. 9.



306.) — « Post hæc periit populus Anglicanus in Hispania de fluxu ventris et aliis infirmitatibus, quod vix quintus homo redierit in Angliam. » Henr. Knyghton, ap. Twysden, *Hist. Anglic. Script. X*, col. 2629.)

One might suppose that those disorders arose from the use of the fiery Spanish wines; but it must be noticed that in Spain, already so long under the musulman sway, and where the immoderate use of the grape was unknown, the vine was scarcely even cultivated in the north, wine being prohibited in certain places, notably in Pampeluna since 1365. (Yanguas, *Diccionario de antigüedades del reino de Navarra*, t. ii, p. 677, note 1.) Down to modern times, wines were imported from Gascony. See our *Histoire du commerce et de la navigation à Bordeaux principalement sous l'administration anglaise*.

3870. Cécile, daughter of Centulle IV, comte d'Astarac, dead in 1406, had for second husband Jean Jourdain, comte de l'Isle, from whom she was separated in 1392. Jean de l'Isle is not mentioned by Froissart as one of the disaffected noblemen; but his namesake was mayor of Bordeaux in 1342, and three years afterwards commanded Gascons of the French side.

3871. Pierre Raymond, comte de Cominges, seigneur de Ferrières, son of Pierre Raymond and Françoise de Fezensac. His will is dated 19th October, 1375. (Anselme, *Hist. général.*, etc., t. ii, p. 265.) His daughter Marguerite married in 1378 Jean, comte d'Armagnac.

3871. Arnaud, sire d'Albret, great chamberlain of France, had just married Margaret de Bourbon, sister to the Queen of France. (Anselme, t. i, p. 300.)

3900. The names of the bearers of this summons to the Prince were Bernard Palot, juge criminel de Toulouse, and Jean de Chaponval. According to Froissart, they were imprisoned at Agen, but not murdered, as has been falsely stated by several historians<sup>1</sup>.

3955. John Hastings, second earl of Pembroke, only son of Lawrence, first earl; on the death of the Earl of Warwick in 1369

<sup>1</sup> See L. Lacabane's biography of King Charles V, in the third volume of the *Dictionnaire de la conversation et de la lecture*. Paris, 1834, 8vo., p. 153. — The King's letters published there at length are so much the more valuable, that they show the falsity of those which are given by Froissart.

he was admitted into the order of the Garter, when he accompanied the Earl of Cambridge into Aquitaine. He was present at the taking of Bourdeille and la Roche-sur-Yon, and the sacking of Limoges. In 1372, he was taken prisoner by the Spaniards at la Rochelle, and remained in chains at Saint-André nearly three years, whence he was liberated at a ransom of 120,000 francs; but he died on reaching Arras in April, 1375, being then only 28 years of age. He has been often confounded with his father on account of the received date of the latter's demise being also 1375.

3970. Barnes (p. 170) has shown that this is an error, originating from the fact of James Audley, the son, having died in Gascony at this time, and that Sir James Audley, the father, did not die until April 1st, 1386. Cf. Ashmole, p. 706. Beltz has fallen into the same error, and made de Granson his successor in the stall at St. George's.

3976. The interesting account of the death of Chandos is given by Froissart, t. vii, p. LXXXVII, p. 206 and 394. Cf. Delisle's *Histoire du château et des sires de Saint-Sauveur-le-Vicomte*, p. 157 and sqq.

3998. According to Froissart, D. Enrique harangued his troops in that terms : « Bonnes gens, vous m'avés fait roy et couronné roy. Aidiés-moy à deffendre et garder l'iretage dont vous m'avés alihreté. »

4024. Buchon has printed an act passed upon the occasion of this appeal of the comte d'Armagnac, and the conditions agreed on between the parties. (Edit. of the *Panthéon littéraire*, t. i, p. 558, col. 2, note 1. Cf. Luce, t. vii, p. xxxi, note 2.)

4034. Louis, duc d'Anjou, and Jean, duc de Berry, the second and third sons of Jean le Bon, and brother of Charles V. Kings of France. It appears from letters to Philip and the duke himself in the French Rolls, 1364, that the duke of Anjou had broken his parole whilst an hostage in England for his father, and had returned to France. (Rymer, vol. iii, p. 756.)

4035. Louis, son of Pierre, duc de Bourbon, and Isabelle de Valois, was eight years in England, as one of the hostages for John, King of France. To perfect the payment of his ransom, by a deed dated Paris 16th December 1368, he gave in pawn to Jean Donat, citizen and spicer in London, at the rate of 5200 golden crowns, « sa cotte

d'armes rousée, ordonnée à vesteure de homme, semée et ouvrée de plusieurs et divers ouvraiges de grosses perles et rubis baillais et saphirs. » (Archives Nationales, P. 1358, 998, etc.) He was in 1380 one of the princes of the blood appointed to govern the kingdom during the minority of Charles the Sixth. He afterwards commanded in Flanders in 1382 and in Africa, 1390. He died at Montluçon, in August, 1410.

4062. The bishop of Limoges, Jean de Cros, had been the personal friend of the Black Prince, and had held at the fount his eldest son Edward. At this critical juncture of affairs in Aquitaine he had been trusted with the governorship of Limoges, which city he had delivered up to the Duke of Berry. At the taking of the city, the Bishop's life was spared through the interest made for him by the Duke of Lancaster and the Pope, Urban the fifth. He died in 1383. See *Gallia christiana*, t. ii, col. 533. Cf. Luce's Froissart, t. vii, p. cxv, 243, § 663 sqq., p. 423, etc.

4067. Roger de Beaufort, messire Jean de Villemur and messire Hugues de la Roche, the nephew of the first, saved their lives by engaging hand to hand with the Duke of Lancaster, the Earls of Cambridge and Pembroke, to whom after a severe fight they surrendered. In Lobineau's *Hist. de Bret.*, t. i, p. 395, we find Beaufort in 1370 with his nephew joining du Guesclin with five knights and eighty-five esquires. In 1375, in the treaty of Bruges, Roger de Beaufort and Jean de la Roche, his nephew, are allowed, as prisoners, liberty for four months to go where they please, except into Guienne. (Rymer's *Federa*, vol. iii, p. 1034.) Jean de Villemur is mentioned by Froissart as having been in the Duke of Anjou's campaign in 1374, and elsewhere.

4086. Edward of Angoulême, born in 1365. He was buried in the church of the Augustine Friars, in London. See Weever, p. 419.

4100. When the Earl of Pembroke with his forces arrived off la Rochelle, he found the harbour preoccupied by a Spanish fleet, his superiors in every respect. The engagement however lasted for two days, when the English were entirely defeated and the Earl taken.

4124. Le Grand d'Aussy has given an extract detailing the particulars of a siege from the Roman de Claris, in his *Fabliaux*, vol. iii,

p. 73, ed. 1829. See also t. iv, p. 33. The Romance of Claris is likewise quoted by Roquefort, *Etat de la poésie françoise*, p. 121.

4132. In Chandos Herald's opinion such was the ensemble of the accomplishments of a true knight, and the Black Prince was one of the heroes of chivalry. No doubt he was obedient to the law of personal honour, and very different from D. Pedro, his confederate, he had nothing of the self confidence and caprice, of the violent and ungovernable temper, of the lustfulness and lavishness, of the cruel impiety of the Spanish despot. The fundamental idea of chivalry—on its good side, that of knightly obligation, as well as on its bad side, that of brutal and contemptuous disregard of all other obligations—finds expression in Edward the Black Prince, for the hollowness and falsehood of the law of chivalry as displayed by many knights at Crécy and Poitiers, were exhibited at Limoges. During the siege he spent his days in playing at dice with his chamberlains so eagerly as to pledge his coral beads to clear up a gambling debt. He was not, however, stranger to feeling when his purse was not empty. Being on the point of returning to his dominions, he bestowed a charity of 60 sous on behalf of a poor little boy who had been found alone in a lodging where the Prince had rested during his journey. Who knows whether the heart of the iron warrior was not affected at the remembrance of the child whom the unfortunate bishop of Limoges, Jean de Cros, had brought to be baptised in the capacity of godfather<sup>1</sup>. See above, p. 375, note to l. 4062.

4200. In a transcript of a chronicle of the time of Edward the Third, printed in the *Archæologia*, vol. xxii, p. 227, is « A chapter of the Princes Death, » in which occurs the following passage : « O holy Trinite, blessed be thou for evermore, whose name upon earthe I have alwaies worshipped, whose honor I have studied to enlarge, in whose faith, although otherwise a wicked man and a synner, I have alwaies lyved. I hartely pray the that as I have magnified this thy feast upon earthe, and for thy honor have called the people together to celebrate the same feast with me, deliver thou me from this deathe, and vouchsafe to call me to that most delectable feast that is kept this day with the in heaven; whose prayers as we

<sup>1</sup> Luce's Froissart, t. vii, p. cxi, note 3.

may thynke were heard of the Lord God, for the very same day about thre of the cloke he departed this life. »

4224. This knight is mentioned in an officer's account for a tournament at Canterbury A. D. 1349 : « Et ad faciendum diversos apparatus pro corpore Regis et suorum pro hastiludio Cantuariensi, an. Reg. xxii. ubi Rex dedit octo hernesia de syndone ynde facta, et vapulata de armis domini Stephani de Cosyngton, militis, dominis principibus comiti Lancastriæ, comiti Suffolciæ, Johanni de Gray, Johanni de Beauchamp, Roberto Maule, Johanni Chandos et domino Rogero de Beauchamp. Et ad faciendum unum harnesium de bokeram albo pro Rege, extencellato cum argento, viz. tunicam et scutum operatum cum dictamine Regis :

« Hay hay, the whyte swan !  
By Godes soule I am thy man. »

« ... Et ad faciendum unum dublettum pro Rege de tela linea habente, circa manicas et simbriam, unam borduram de panno longo viridi operatam cum nebulis et vineis de auro, et cum dictamine Regis : *It is as it is.* » (Comp. J. Cooke, provisoris magn. garderob. ab ann. 21 Edw. III. ad ann. 23, membr. xi.)

Sir Stephen de Cosyngton is mentioned in many entries of the French Rolls of the Record office, from 1345 to 1356. See Rymer, vol. iii, p. 40, 181, 224, 326; and above, p. 154, l. 2281.

4230. Baldwin de Freville occurs in the Gascon Rolls, 39 Edw. III. (1365) as accompanying the Prince in the expedition of that year. He witnessed, as seneschal of Saintonge, the charter of Don Pedro, binding himself to repay the Prince the money paid on his behalf to the King of Navarre; in 1367, he was seneschal of Poitou. He was with the expedition under Sir R. Knolles, in the attack on Cahors and Domme, and with the Prince in his assault on Limoges. Cf. Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. iii, p. 825, A. D. 1367; and Luce's *Frois-sart*, t. vii, p. xix, note 4.

In a book which is not worth quoting, instead of *Freville*, we read *Treville* as the name of the Prince's high officer. *Trévill* is the title of a powerful family of the Pays Basque<sup>1</sup>, and one may conjecture that *Baskerville* was derived from it by a process easy

<sup>1</sup> « Pierre de Tardetz, sr de Troisième, et Fortmon Daguerre, son lacay, » are mentioned in a register of the Parlement de Bordeaux, B. 24, 30th September 1542.



to fancy. The termination *vill* being exclusively norman, the name might strictly be considered as imported from that province; but we do not know any place of that name there, except Bacqueville, département de la Seine-Inférieure, arrond. de Dieppe. In Rymer's *Fœdera*, t. iii, p. 842, occurs the name of Sir Richard de Baskerville. Cf. Fuller's *History of the Worthies of England*, etc. London, 1811, 4to., vol. i, p. 458, 464.

4239. Thomas, lord Roos, of Hamelake, was one of those who, after the joust held by the Prince in honour of his son's birth in 1364, prepared to accompany the King of Cyprus in his crusade for the recovery of Jerusalem. Dugdale shows that from the Gascon and other Rolls he served in Gascony in 33 Edw. III., and in the 43, 44 and 45, and that he was on board the fleet destined for the relief of Thouars. In the letter of protection granted him to go in the company of the Duke of Lancaster, 1369, he is styled, *Thomas de Roos de Hamelak, chevalier*. (Rymer, vol. iii, p. 871. Cf. p. 848.)

4242. From the Gascon Rolls it appears that in 1356 and 1368 this knight had letters of safe-conduct to go abroad. In 1377 he was captain of Brest castle, in 1379 was commissioned to treat with the Duke of Brittany, with Portugal in the following year, and again in 1385. In 1389 he was appointed to inspect fortresses in Calais and Poitou, and in 1389 to treat with the duke of Bavaria. He is mentioned as one of the executors of the will of the Princess of Wales, in 1385. Ses Collins, p. 308.

4243. Thomas de Wetenhale, knight, kindred of the illustrious Hugh de Calverly, had, in 1364, letters of protection to pass in the retinue of the Prince of Wales into Gascony. (*Rot. Vasc.*, 38 Edw. III., membr. 3; ap. Rymer, t. iii, p. 731<sup>1</sup>.) Cf. Luce's Froissart, t. vii, p. xli, note 2; lv, note 3; and lxiii, note 2.

4247. It would seem from two entries in the French Rolls 1357 and 1359, respecting Tristan de Magnelay, his prisoner, that Sir Thomas de Walkfare was present at Poitiers. He had letters of protection in the February of that year, *ad partes transmarinas profecturus*.

<sup>1</sup> In the same convoy we note *Willielmus de Packington, persona ecclesiæ de Burton Novercy*, ready for sailing and to stay with the Black Prince (*Rot. Vasc.* 38 Edw. III., membr. 1 (A. D. 1334), John Basset, *chevalier*, and many others mentioned in Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. iii, p. 719, 736, 747, 753, 760, 763, 765.

(*Rot. Vasc.*, 34 Edw. III., membr. 4 ; Rymer, vol. iii, p. 763.) Buchon has noticed that Thomas de Walkfare was hanged at Toulouse in September, 1370, by order of the duke of Anjou <sup>2</sup>.

4253. Sir William le Moine, seneschal of Agenais, is mentioned by Froissart as having been commissioned to seize the messenger of the French King who had brought the summons to the Black Prince for his appearing at Paris. In the French Rolls, 33 Edw. III., part 1, membr. 3, are letters of protection addressed to him. (Rymer, vol. iii, p. 443.)

4258. Richard Walkfare, *chivaler*, had letters of protection to proceed abroad in 1356 and again into Gascony in the retinue of the Prince of Wales in 1365. (Rymer, vol. iii, p. 40 and 763.)

4260. John de Roche, knight, had letters of safe-conduct in 1365 to pass in the Prince's retinue into Gascony, governed in the mean time by another knight the scondan de Préchac, sire de Didone, being formerly at war with the scondan de Latrau, his neighbour. (*Rot. Vasc.*, ann. 28 Edw. III., membr. 15. — *Carta Johann. reg. Franc.* ann. 1350 ; *Reg. 80 Chartoph. reg. ch.* 69. — *Rot. Franc.* 31 Edw. III. membr. 14 et 13 dorso. Cf. Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. iii, p. 350, 765. Later he was appointed seneschal of Bigorre : *De comitatu Bigorre, per Principem Wallie, dominum de Biscaya, et de castro de Ordialibus, capitali de Bogio concessio*. (*Rot. Vascon.*, 43 Edw. III., membr. 8 ; ap. Rymer, vol. iii, p. 874.)

4262. A sire de Poiane of Poitou is mentioned by Froissart in Sir John Chandos's, and afterwards in Sir J. Andley's company at Bruges, as in the Prince's company in the attack on la Roche-sur-Yon, in his attack upon Limoges. (Kervyn's ed., t. v, p. 283.) In the Gascon Rolls, 46 Edw. III. is a writ *pro Michael de Poyane habendo hereditates domini de Le Bret*. Cf. Rymer, record edition, t. iii, p. 651, 657, 674.

<sup>2</sup> He appears to have been occasionally confounded with Sir Thomas Wake, who Johnes says was the seneschal of Rouergue, and defeated by the comte de Cominges and others at Montauhan. In Buchon, however, the name is printed *Wakefair* ; whilst Collins again has called him *Wake*, and given his family history from Dugdale. (*Baronage of England*, vol. i, p. 539-542.) In support of this opinion we have entries in the French Rolls of a Thomas Wake de Bliseworth, having letters of protection in 1358 and again in the retinue of Edmund, earl of March, in 1374. (Rymer, vol. iii, p. 1014, col. 2.)



Line ult. The following is the metrical translation of the epitaph  
as given by Weever :

Whoso thou be that passeth by  
Where these corps interred lie,  
Understand what I shall say,  
As at this time speak I may :  
Such as thou art sometime was I,  
Such as I am, such shalt thou be.  
I little thought on the house of death,  
So long as I enjoyed breath,  
Great riches here I did possess,  
Whereof I made great nobleness ;  
I had gold, silver, wardrobes, and  
Great treasures, horses, houses, lands.  
But now a catife poor am I.  
Deep in the ground, to here I lie ;  
My beauty great is all quite gone,  
My flesh is wasted to the bone,  
My house is narrow, now and throng,  
Nothing but truth comes from my tongue ;  
And, if ye should see me this day,  
I do not think but ye would say  
That I had never been a man,  
So much altred now I am.  
For God sake pray to the Heavenly King,  
That he my soul to Heaven would bring.  
All they that pray and make accord  
For me unto my God and Lord  
God place them id his Paradise,  
Wherein no wretched catiffe lies.



## APPENDIX

---

In the XIVth century three languages were in use in England :

Latyn als, I trowe, canne nane  
Bot thase that it of scole han tane.  
Some canne Frankes and Latin  
That hanes used courte and dwelled theryn,  
And som canne Latyn a party  
That canne Frankes bot febely,  
And some understandes in Inglys  
That canne nother Latyn ne Frankys,  
Bot lere and lewed alde and younge,  
Als understandes Inglysche tounge :  
Thare fore I halde it maste syker thon  
To schew that langage that ilk a man konne,  
And for all lewed men namely  
Thet can no maner of clergy,  
To kenne thanne what ware maste nede,  
For clerkes canne bathe se and rede, etc.

Hampole's *Speculum*, or *Mirroure of Life*, ap. Warton's  
*Hist. of Engl. Poetry*, vol. iii, p. 9, note *g*.

It would be bold to assert that the English aristocracy of the XIVth century, Edward III., as well as the Black Prince, used indifferently the French and English languages, chiefly the latter, when they had to address unlettered people <sup>1</sup>, as did in the 1337 « uns clers d'Engleterre, licenciés en drois et en lois, et moult bien pourvus de trois langages, de latin, de françois et dou

<sup>1</sup> In Rymer's *Fædera*, record edition, t. iii, p. 469, there is a proclamation ; but it is in Norman-French, which was also the parliamentary language. See *Rot. Parl.*, vol. ii, p. 268, 271.

Robert de Avesbury has given a letter in French from Edward to his son, dated December 1342. See p. 100, 101, and p. 294.

langage englês. » He spoke softly, « à la fin que il fust mieuls entendus de toutes gens <sup>1</sup>, » etc.

Walter de Mauni was not, as it appears, such a scholar. In 1347, presenting the citizens of Calais to his liege, he spoke English <sup>2</sup>. As to the Black Prince, he had, in his principality, to understand, more or less, the Gascon language. At all events, he had a secretary and treasurer, William Packington, who, being quite master of the French idiom, compiled a fine history in it <sup>3</sup>.

The history of the use and decay of the French language in England from the twelfth century would require a volume <sup>4</sup>. We will content ourselves to illustrate them, by offering some examples.

The Romance of Blonde of Oxford and Jehan of Dammartin by a celebrated lawyer of the XIIIth century, exhibits a young Frenchman in search of fortune and who finds a situation in the house of the Earl of Oxford in the capacity of a carving esquire to his daughter. The adventurer teaches her the French language, which she knew imperfectly <sup>5</sup>, likely « After the scole of Stratford atte Bowe <sup>6</sup>. »

Et en milleur François le mist  
Qu'ele n'estoit quant à li vint <sup>7</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Chroniques de Froissart, t. i, 2d part, p. 360.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, t. iv, p. 291.

<sup>3</sup> *Scriptorium illustrium Majoris Brytanniæ... Catalogus*, etc. Basileæ, 1559, fol., p. 490, n° LXVIII.

<sup>4</sup> Till we have a more elaborate one, we must refer to J.-B. Thommerel's *Recherches sur la fusion du franco-normand et de l'anglo-saxon*. Paris et Londres, 1841, 8vo.

<sup>5</sup> *The Romance of Blonde d'Oxford and Jehan of Dammartin* by Philippe de Reimes (Philippe de Beaumanoir), edited by M. le Roux de Lincy. Printed for the Camden Society, 1858, sm. 4to., p. 404. Cf. l. 395, 1634, 2463.

<sup>6</sup> *The Canterbury Tales*, the Prologue, l. 125. « Of whyche speche, Chaucer says elsewhere, the Frenchmen have as good a fantasie as we have in hearing of Frenchmennes Englyshe. »

<sup>7</sup> L. 130.

The Earl of Oxford understood French well, having been in France to learn it ; but such was not the case with the Earl of Gloucester, Blonde's suiter. Meeting Jehan of Dammartin, his rival, he wished to speak French to him ;

Mais sa langue torne en Englois <sup>1</sup> :...

« Amis, bien fustes-vous vené.

Coment fu vostre non pelé ?...

Et où volé-vous aler tôt ?

Cil varlet fou-il vostre gent,

Qui fu munté seul cheval gent <sup>2</sup> ?

Afterwards the earl speaking again to the same Jehan, says :

« Disa-vos çou que vous vola <sup>3</sup>...

Et où vola-vous dont tourner ?

Duisse veoir qu'il fu jà nuit,

Viene-vous haubergier maishuit,

Où vous me conta vo besoing,

Où nul tourner vous je ne doing <sup>4</sup>, etc.

In a fabliau of the same age, an Englishman attempts to speak as they did in France ;

Mais onc tant ne s'i sot garder

Que n'i entrelardast l'anglois :

Ainsi farsisoit le françois <sup>5</sup>.

The story is silly enough, and offers us no other interest than strokes of mock French like this :

« Sire, fait-il, par saint Tomas,

Se tu avez nul anel cras,

Mi chatera moult volentiers,

Et paie-vos bones deniers

Et bones maailles frelins,

Et paie-vos bons estellins. »

<sup>1</sup> L. 2624. — <sup>2</sup> L. 2627. — <sup>3</sup> L. 2767. — <sup>4</sup> L. 2804.

<sup>5</sup> *Des deux Englois et de l'Agnel*. Ms. of Nat. Libr. n° 1830 or 1239, fol. 47 v°. — Robert, *Fabliaux*, Paris, 1834, 8vo., p. 11. — *Histoire littéraire de la France*, t. xxiii, p. 106, 107.

The previous quotations from poems composed in France by Frenchmen who no doubt had never crossed the British Channel, cannot be called upon as vouchers for the spread or decay of the French language at the court of King Henry III. ; but we have a mystery <sup>1</sup> and a ballad of the times <sup>2</sup>, which may be offered as specimens of the vulgar Norman-French delivered by the gleemen in the public thoroughfares.

In a song, written about the year 1264, when the King of France made an unsuccessful attempt to interfere between Henry III. and his barons, the English King and his court are the object of very coarse satire, which consists in making them talk broken and corrupt French,

<sup>1</sup> *La Résurrection du Sauveur*, fragment de mystère, publié par Ach. Jubinal, etc. Paris, 1839, 4to., p. 10-20. Beginning :

En ceste matere recitom  
La seinte Resurecion.  
Primerement appareillons  
Tus les lius e les mansions :  
Le crucifix premierement,  
E puis après le monument,  
Une jaiole i deit aver  
Tur les prisons enprisoner, etc.

Such miracle-plays, in which the people at this time still delighted, generally took place in churchyards, but were forbidden by some abbots, for instance at St. Edmund's, where Samson, one of them, entertained minstrels or harpers at his palace, though unwillingly. See *Chronica Johannis de Brakelonda*, etc., ed. Joh. Gage Rokewode. Londini, 1840, 4to., p. 31, 69, 139. Cf. Fitz-Stephen, *Excerpta e Vit. S. Thomæ*, ad calcem Stowe's *Survey of London*, p. 480, edit. 1689.

<sup>2</sup> *Huques de Lincoln, Recueil de Ballades anglo-normande et écossaises*, etc. Paris, 1834, 8vo.

Or oez un bel chançon  
Des Jues de Nichole, qui par traison  
Firent la cruel occision  
De un enfant que *Huchon* out non.

En Nichole, la riche cité,  
Droit en Dernestal l'enfant fut né  
De Peiteviu le Ju fut emblé  
A la gule de aust, en uu vespré, etc

and use equivocal expressions. It ends by the King declaring that he will place his son Edward on the throne of France, which is highly approved by Roger Bigot :

“ Je crai que vous verra là-endret grosse fest  
Quant d'Adonart arra coroné France test.  
Il l'a bien asservi, ma fil, il n'est pas best ;  
Il fount buen chivaler, hardouin et honest. ”

— “ Sir rais, ce dit Rogier, por Dieu, à mai entent.  
Tu m'as percé la cul<sup>1</sup> ; tel la pitié ma prent.  
Or doint Godelamit<sup>2</sup> par son culmandement  
Que tu fais cestui chos bien glorieusement ! ”

Here is now a small work expressly compiled to be instrumental for the teaching of the French language. It is the treatise of Walter of Biblesworth (alias *G. de Bitheswey*), which must have enjoyed a certain popularity, if we may judge by the number of manuscripts still extant both at the British Museum and Cambridge. Composed for a noble lady Dionysia de Monchensy, who lived, according to Thomas Wright<sup>3</sup>, at the end of the XIIIth century and at the beginning of the XIVth, this opusculc offers abundant proofs of the state of decay in which the French language spoken in England had already fallen<sup>4</sup>, and shows that the matter had attracted the attention of authority<sup>5</sup>.

Still it was made use of by authors of a certain credit. We might mention more than one ; but it will be quite

<sup>1</sup> The earl, in his broken French, used this expression instead of *le cœur*.

<sup>2</sup> A corruption of *God-Almighty*.

<sup>3</sup> Thomas Wright, *Essays on archæological Subjects*, etc., vol. ii, London, 1861, 8vo., p. 248.

<sup>4</sup> See his *Volume of Vocabularies*, etc. (London,) 1857, sm. 4to., p. 142-174. Cf. *Essays on archæological Subjects*, etc., vol. ii, p. 39, 40.

<sup>5</sup> By a statute of a parliament held at London, it was ordered that the people of all rank should put out their children to the practice of the French language, in order the men might be able to get information and be less outlandish in their wars. (Froissart's chronicles, t. i, p. 402.) The congress at Lolinghem in 1393 showed the necessity of this statute.



sufficient for us to quote a historian of the last of the Plantagenets <sup>1</sup>.

About the same time, perhaps a little later, we find several manuscripts of a short treatise on French spelling, written in Latin, which is probably the first attempt to reduce to rules the French orthography. It is not the small number of the manuscripts that have preserved to us this little treatise, which leads us to believe that it had obtained a certain success; it is rather because in one of those volumes it is accompanied with a commentary in French.

Here comes in, in order of time, the opusculé published by M. Paul Meyer <sup>2</sup>. It has not a didactical character like the treatise of Walter of Biblessworth and the *Orthographia Gallica*; it was not compiled to teach the value, the gender, and the spelling of the words: its object was to provide French conversational exercises for English readers. It is probably the oldest book of French dialogues written for foreigners. Later, at the beginning of the XVIth century, Giles du Guez, of whom we will speak hereafter, added also dialogues to his little grammar; but those conversations, written for a princess, have something ceremonious and stiff, far removed from the colloquial language. The unknown author of the *Manière de langage*, etc., gives occasionally a series of words arranged according to subjects; but he only inserts in his work such words as he thinks would be required for conversation.

<sup>1</sup> *The Chronicle of Pierre de Langtoft in French verse*, edited by Thomas Wright. London, 1866-68, 8vo. Cf. *Histoire littéraire de la France*, t. xxv, p. 337-343.

<sup>2</sup> *Manière de langage qui enseigne à parler et à écrire le françois*, etc. (*Revue critique d'histoire et de littérature*, nos complémentaires de 1870, p. 374-376.) Compare that opusculé with another of the utmost rarity: *Here is a booke to lerne to speke French. Vcey ung bone liure a apprendre a parler fraunchoyz*, etc. Per me Ricardum Pinson, (London, no date,) 4to., bl. lett.



He had travelled in France (as he says in his last chapter), and it is obvious to the eye that he exerted himself to reproduce faithfully the style of the conversation in the various classes of society. The diversity of expressions in reality equivalent, but different as to the form, which he took the trouble of collecting, separating them by the words *vel sic*, is already a proof of the attention he bestowed upon his labour. But otherwise there is no doubt those samples of conversation, probably reflecting personal recollections, had been written *con amore*, since one may see with what enthusiasm our author speaks at the beginning of his opusculum of the pre-excellence of the French idiom, the « *doulz François, qu'est la plus bele e la plus gracios langage e plus noble parler (après latin d'escole) qui soit au monde, e de tous geus mieulx prisée et amée que nul autre ; car Dieulx le fist si doulce et amiable, principalement à l'onneur e loenge de luy-mesmes. Et pour ce il peut bien comparer au parler des angels du ciel, pour la grant doulceur e biauté d'icel.* »

It will thus be understood that at the end of the XIVth century the anglo-norman language was in a very unsettled condition, and that in the hand of writers of different classes, rank or county, it assumed every variety of character. One of the last has left us a long work <sup>1</sup>, to

<sup>1</sup> *Scalacronica*, by Sir Thomas Gray de Hetou, knight. Edinburgh, printed for the Maitland Club, 1836, 4to., p. 1. Cf. Introduction, p. xxxvi, and Appendix, p. 259 : « Notable thinges translatid in to Englisch by John Leylande onte of a booke, caullid *Scalacronica*, the which a certein Inglisch mau... did translate owte of Frenche ryme yn to Frenche prose. » The original text begins thus : « *Qe eit delite ou voet savoer coment le isle del Graunt-Bretaigne (jadys Albeon, Tere de geaunz, or Engleter) fust primerment enhabité, et de quel gent, et de lour naissance, et de la processe du ligne de rois qe y ount esté, et de lour conversacioun, solune ceo quy cest cronicle emparlas, et de la maner avoit trové en escript en divers livers en latin et en romaunce, pust-il conoistre en party*

be compared, as to gibberish, with numerous letters and documents of the time, namely a history of the foundation of Wigmore priory, Herefordshire<sup>1</sup>, which, after all, may be a forgery.

At the beginning of his translation, Sir Thomas Gray informs us in what circumstances he was when he made it.

We have seen what state of decay the French language had reached in England. There was, however, at least, one English poet who wrote tolerably good verses at the end of the XIVth century : witness a poem *On the Dignity or Excellence of Marriage, cinkante Balades*, and some shorter pieces in praise and commemoration of King Henry IV., like in the following epilogue and colophon which close the ballads :

O gentile Engleterre, à toi j'eserits  
Pour remembrer ta joie q'est novele,  
Que te survient du noble roi Henris,  
Par qui Dieus ad redrescé la querele.  
A Dieu pur eeo prient et cil et cele  
Q'il de sa grace au fort roi coroné  
Doingt peas, honour, joie et prosperité.

par cest estoir suannt la processe de eaux. Et sy ne voet pas au plain nomer soun noune, qe cest cronicle translata de ryme en prose, mais prisoner estoit pris de guer al hour q'il eomensa cest tretiee. »

<sup>1</sup> See the *Monasticon Anglicanum*, vol. vi. part i, London, 1830, fol., p. 344-348. It begins thus : « En le temps del roy Estevene, fitz al eounte de Bloys, qui regna en Engleterre per force après le roy Henry fitz à William Bastard, estoit un très-noble bachiler en Engleterre, prouz, vaillant et hardy, mounsieur Hugh de Mortimer à nome, noble de nature, de sane, de beale estature, vaillant en armes, très-noble en parler, perfond de conseil et très-riche de teriens facultés, et le plus glorious chevaler renomé et doté devant toutz que adonque furent en Engleterre vivantz ; de quy mist neisuns en eserit toutz les pruesces lesquels il fist chevaleronement en Engleterre, en Gwales et per ailors, si amounterait-il à un grant volume. Et outre eeo fut-il le plus franc et liberal de toutz eenx qui one eous seynt en son temps nule part. Le noble eounte de Hereford Roger, riche et vaillant et de grant retenaunce de gentz, et feers et orgoilous, tant fort demena sovent, que à force ly covint en refut demorer en ses chastels demeyne par doute de ly. Ensement le roy Henry, prosechen après le roy Estevene sovent... od tout son host travailla, come est plainement dexouz eserit. »

Towards the end of another of his poems, Gower introduces an apology for any inaccuracies, which, as an Englishman, he may have committed in the French idiom :

A l'université de tout le monde  
Johan Gower ceste balade envoie ;  
Et si jeo n'ai de françois la faconde,  
Pardonez-moi qe jeo de ceo forsvoie.  
Jeo sui Englois : si quier par tiele voie  
Estre excusé ; mais quoi que nuls en die,  
L'amour parfit en Dieu se justifie <sup>1</sup>.

After having read those lines, how can one agree with the historian of English Poetry <sup>2</sup> when he asserts that Edward III. greatly contributed to establish the national dialect, by abolishing the use of the Norman tongue and substituting the natural language of the country ?

We had an occasion to mention Gower's disciple, the celebrated Geoffrey Chaucer. What he says of his Prioress <sup>3</sup>, leaving apart his translation of the Roman de la Rose, shows that he was a refined master of the French language. A ballad directed to him by Eustache Deschamps is also an unexceptionable testimonial of his knowledge in this respect <sup>4</sup> ; but what a pity he did not entirely follow Gower's example ! France would have had a poet more.

For the XVth century, we have a long specimen of the

<sup>1</sup> Want of space prevents us from entering into details concerning the Norman element in the spoken and written English of the XIIth, XIIIth and XIVth centuries ; we will content ourselves with referring to the able work published under this title for the Philological Society by Joseph Payne.

<sup>2</sup> See sect. xii, vol. ii, p. 178, 179.

<sup>3</sup> Vid. *supra*, p. 382. — The instructions from Michael, abbot of St. Albans, in 1338, to the nuns of Sopwell, are in the French language ; they are to be found in the *Monasticon Anglicanum*, vol. iii, p. 365, 366.

<sup>4</sup> E.-G. Sandras, *Etude sur Chaucer*, etc. Paris, 1859, 8vo., p. 28, 161, 262. Cf. Delécluse's paper in the *Revue française*, April, 1838.

French as spoken by the English <sup>1</sup>; but we suspect it is simple caricature, like *la Chartre de la pais aux Englois* <sup>2</sup>.

Aiquet bin futy-vous venu!  
Je croy bin vous futy haraut;  
Vous porté de l'arm qui fut beau :  
Ce fut, je croy, l'arm de mon mer.

Later occurs this dialogue between the king and the *connestable* of England. This officer begins thus :

Milort, bigot ! flodin tast ly  
Gost art tel meust als mat gout det  
Ast gode chine foule det.  
L'Armenae a la Franchequin  
Hourson quenane a gent Helquin <sup>3</sup>  
Galst stot forque tostat dog la.

The king answers :

Bigot ! j'entendy bin cela.  
Contably, nous faut pas la mer.  
— Vin ça, haraut. Landy mon mer  
Qui fout qu'à ly j'ala bin tot;  
Dyt-moy, jous empri, tot de mot  
Je faity army tout mon gent <sup>4</sup>.

Specimens of Englishmen's attempts to give genuine pronunciation are copiously supplied by Palsgrave's *l'Esclaircissement de la langue françoise*, etc. <sup>5</sup>; but it would be also advisable to glance at John Hart's phonetic rendering of the French Pater Noster and of the French

<sup>1</sup> *Le Mystère de saint Louis, roi de France*, etc., imprimé par le Roxburghe Club, Westminster, 1871, 4to., p. 55, col. 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Histoire littéraire de la France*, t. xxxiii, p. 452, 453.

<sup>3</sup> Helquin, *Hell King*? As to Hourson, we would not go so far as the « *Aula quatuor filiorum Edmundi*, » called, *Fourson Edmund Hall*, in the *Reliquie Hearnianæ*, etc., collected by Philip Bliss. Oxford, 1857, 8vo., p. 254.

<sup>4</sup> *Le Mystère de saint Louis*, p. 56, col. 1.

<sup>5</sup> We do not mention Giles du Guez's *An Introductorie for to lerne to rede, to pronounce and to speke trewly*, etc. London, 1532, 8vo. because the compiler was a Frenchman. His book, reprinted by François Génin at the end of his edition of Palsgrave (Paris, 1852, 4to.), is described in the *Bibliotheca Grenvilliana*, vol. i, p. 200.

pronunciation of the Latin Lord's Prayer in the last chapter of his *Orthographie* <sup>1</sup>, to which may be added Howel's tract, *de Pronunciatione linguæ Latinæ*, quoted by Francis Douce, *Illustrations of Shakspeare*, p. 140; and the first French and English dictionary published in England <sup>2</sup>.

On the other hand the Frenchmen of former days did not seem to care for English at all : those transcriptions of semi-saxon in *Roman de Rou*, vol. ii, p. 184, l. 12437-76, and the examples of French and English puns in Thomas Wright's *Political Songs of England* <sup>3</sup> are not worth much.

The English tourists being rather scanty in France <sup>4</sup>, the frolicsome Gauls had few occasions to chaff at their pronunciation of the French language; but there was on view a standing body of Scottish Archer Guards, and they were constantly exposed to jokes. A *balade de deux Escossois* and a Christmas carol in the same gibberish, have been preserved and are like that which was ascribed to the English. The ballad begins thus :

Hae, ma mignon ! que dit y capitain !  
Homs vous tantost où plaira moy que l'ail ?  
A Naple, à Naple ? c'est-y nouvel certain ?  
A Naple, saie sus mon, c'est ches qu'il vail.

<sup>1</sup> London, by W. Seres, 1569, 16mo.

<sup>2</sup> *A Dictionarie French and English* by Claudius Holyband. London, 1595, 4to.

<sup>3</sup> London, 1839, 4to., p. 49. (Issued by the Camden Society and different from another collection published by the same under the direction of the Master of the Rolls under the title of *Political Poems and Songs relating to English History, composed during the Period from the Accession of Edward III.*, etc. London, 1859-1861, two vols. 8vo.) Cf. Alexander J. Ellis's *Early English Pronunciation*, p. 462 and 531.

<sup>4</sup> For their use there was also published a small hand-book under the title of *Book for travellers*. Westmestre by London, fol. French and English vocabulary.

Mont à cheval continent en batail.  
Qui faict cela? le roi dit par vostre am  
Donny dedans luy-mesmes d'estoc, de tail  
Moy conseil point enlry hors de ream <sup>1</sup>.

Those who had not the means and the luck of going to France for the purpose of enlisting into the Scottish Archer Guard, had the opportunity of acquiring the language at home. In the "*Statuta et leges ludi literarii Grammaticorum Aberdonensium*," it was enacted that the boys should not speak in the vernacular, but in Latin, Greek, Hebrew, French or Gaelic. In fact, the French language was taught in the chief schools of Scotland, notably at St. Andrews, in 1566, "with the reading and right pronunciation of the tongue <sup>2</sup>."

What was the result of those regulations? we are afraid nothing but the rise of a provincial stray dialect, which is almost obsolete.

<sup>1</sup> *Les Ecossais en France, les Français en Ecosse*, Londres, 1862, 8vo., vol. ii, p. 5-8. — It is no use noting that those lines, as to the date, speak for themselves.

<sup>2</sup> *A critical Inquiry into the Scottish Language, with the view of illustrating the Rise and Progress of Civilisation in Scotland*. London and Edinburgh, 1882, 4to.

In the English schools, the teachers did not require so much, as we may judge from one of them, John Baret, the compiler of *An Alcearie, or quadruple Dictionarie, English, Latine, Greeke, and French*. London, 1580, fol. A former edition, containing only three languages, appeared in London, 1573, fol.





*Le Prince Noir, poème du héraut d'armes Chandos.* Texte suivi de notes, par FRANCISQUE MICHEL. Londres et Paris, J.-G. Fotheringham, 1883. In-4° de xx-392 pages.

La chronique rimée du héraut Chandos sur les faits d'armes d'Édouard, prince de Galles, le fameux Prince Noir, se compose de 4,304 vers français de huit syllabes ; le récit commence à l'expédition d'Édouard III, en 1346, qui se termina par la victoire de Crécy, suivie du siège de Calais, et s'arrête à la mort du prince de Galles, survenue en 1376. L'auteur du poème, attaché en qualité de héraut d'armes à la personne d'un des principaux lieutenants du Prince Noir, le célèbre Jean Chandos, a composé cet ouvrage environ dix ans après la mort de son héros, vers 1386. Cette date paraît résulter des vers suivants, où le chroniqueur, après avoir raconté les succès remportés au delà des Pyrénées en 1366 par Bertrand du Guesclin, qui avait fait proclamer roi





don Henri, comte de Trastamare, à la place de don Pèdre, ajoute que vingt ans à peine se sont écoulés depuis ces événements :

Ensi fut Castille conquise  
Par la puissance et par l'emprise  
De monsieur Bartram de Claykyn.  
Or purrez vous oïr la fin  
*Coment depuis ce jour avint*  
*Ne passa mye des ans vint* (vers 1810 à 1815).

Si le héraut Chandos n'a pas assisté en personne à la bataille de Poitiers, il tenait certainement d'un témoin oculaire les curieux détails qu'il nous a transmis sur les mouvements des divers corps de l'armée anglaise pendant cette journée; c'est par un passage de son poème que nous savons que le prince de Galles, attaqué sur ses derrières au moment où il traversait le ruisseau du Miausson, fit volte-face, et qu'ainsi ce fut l'arrière-garde anglaise, placée sous les ordres du comte de Salisbury, qui eut à soutenir le premier choc des Français. Toutefois, la partie capitale et vraiment originale du poème du héraut Chandos, c'est le récit de l'expédition du prince de Galles en Espagne, signalée par la victoire de Nájera et la restauration de don Pèdre. L'auteur a consacré presque la moitié de son ouvrage (du vers 1,816 au vers 3,797) au récit de cette expédition, qui dura à peine neuf mois, de janvier à septembre 1367. Ici, Chandos a l'autorité d'un témoin oculaire, et la chronique rimée de ce héraut d'armes doit être considérée comme une source de premier ordre.

Le manuscrit unique de ce texte important, du moins au point de vue historique, est conservé actuellement à Oxford dans la bibliothèque de « Worcester College »; et c'est d'après ce manuscrit que le vénérable conservateur de la Bodléienne, M. Coxe, a publié en 1842 pour le Roxburghe Club la première édition de l'œuvre du héraut Chandos. Outre que cette édition, tirée à un très petit nombre d'exemplaires, est d'une extrême rareté, même en Angleterre, il n'y a pas lieu de s'étonner que le savant bibliothécaire, aux prises avec un ouvrage écrit dans une langue autre que la sienne et rempli de noms de lieu et de personne, n'ait pas toujours bien lu ces noms ni compris certaines expressions du texte qu'il reproduisait. Dès le quatrième vers, par exemple, M. Coxe avait lu *amenceveur* le substantif amenteveur, régulièrement formé sur le verbe amentevoir. Le vers 419 : « Au seigneur de Biaugeu renduz, » avait été rapporté par suite d'une mauvaise lecture au seigneur de Beauchamp; et, par une inadvertance peut-être moins excusable, dans le vers 766 :

Mais là endroit vint, à briefs mos,

M. Coxe, prenant sans doute « briefs mos » pour un nom de lieu, l'avait imprimé avec une majuscule et en un seul mot sous cette

forme : *Brismos*. On pourrait relever un assez grand nombre d'inadvertances et de fautes du même genre, non seulement dans le texte du poème, mais encore dans la traduction anglaise jointe à ce texte par le premier éditeur, *frike* traduit par *happy*, etc. Nous aimons mieux louer M. Coxe du sens critique dont il a fait preuve dans la préface qui précède son édition et que le nouvel éditeur a eu raison de reproduire.

La nouvelle édition de M. Francisque Michel est donc la bienvenue. Destinée surtout au public d'outre-Manche, comme l'indique la traduction anglaise qui accompagne le texte, elle n'en sera pas moins accueillie avec faveur de ce côté du détroit, quoique les conditions trop luxueuses de la publication la rendent malheureusement peu accessible aux érudits.

Le texte de cette nouvelle édition paraît établi avec beaucoup de soin, et le savant éditeur a fait suivre ce texte d'éclaircissements de tout genre qui ne remplissent pas moins de cent pages imprimées en petits caractères, et où il a mis à profit les meilleurs travaux historiques publiés sur la période comprise entre 1346 et 1376. Il ne nous appartient pas d'apprécier la traduction anglaise, où M. Francisque Michel a visé surtout à être exact et à serrer le texte original d'aussi près que possible, sauf en ce qui concerne la forme de certains noms de lieu et de personne. C'est principalement au sujet de quelques-uns de ces noms que nous proposerons au nouvel éditeur, pour lui prouver que nous l'avons lu avec attention, des leçons autres que celles qu'il a cru devoir adopter.

Vers 340 : Cils de *Joii* et de Harcourt.

M. Francisque Michel a traduit : « Counts de Jouy and d'Harcourt. » Il n'y avait pas, en 1346, de comte de Jouy. Nous croyons qu'il faut lire « Joini » pour Joigny, quoique l'on ne connaisse aucun comte de Joigny qui ait été tué à Crécy.

Vers 627 : Et de Faussard Amenion.

Le personnage ainsi désigné est Amanieu du Fossat (Ariège, arr. de Pamiers).

Vers 868 et 869 : Fut luy arcevesque de Sens  
Cils de Tharlus, qui ot grant sens.

M. Francisque Michel a traduit : « There was the archbishop of Sens, him of Talaru, a man of great learning. » Le héraut Chandos a certainement voulu désigner dans ces vers les deux prélats qui prirent part à la bataille de Poitiers, Guillaume de Melun, archevêque de Sens, et Renaud Chauveau, évêque de Châlons, qui fut tué dans cette journée. Tharlus est une mauvaise leçon pour Chaalons.

Vers 1310 : Cils de Mawne et cils de Basset.

M. Fr. Michel a traduit : « The lords of *Mohun* and of Basset. » Selon toute vraisemblance, il s'agit, dans ce passage, non du seigneur de Mohun, mais de Gautier de Mauny ou de Masny (Nord, arr. et canton de Douai).

Vers 1323 : Fossard et *Couchon* et Rosain.

Dans ce vers, *Couchon* nous paraît être une mauvaise leçon pour *Curton*. *Petiton* de *Curton* est le nom d'un chevalier de Gascogne dont il est souvent fait mention dans les chroniques et autres documents de cette époque. *Couchon*, au contraire, est inconnu.

Vers 1387 : Dan Eustace d'Abrichecourt.

Le nouvel éditeur a partout conservé, même dans sa traduction anglaise, cette mauvaise forme du nom de l'un des plus célèbres chefs des compagnies anglo-navarraises; on sait que cet aventurier, originaire du Hainaut, tirait son nom du village d'Auberchicourt (Nord, arr. et canton de Douai).

Vers 1993 et 1994 : Toutz les compaignons de la Galle  
Retournerent en Aquitaine.

M. Fr. Michel a traduit : « All the companions of Wales returned to Aquitain, » comme si la Galle désignait le pays de Galles, tandis que, à notre avis du moins, cette expression, « les compaignons de la Galle », n'a nullement ici un sens ethnographique.

Vers 2322 : Et de *Pauteney* le baron.

Peut-être faut-il lire : « Et de *Parteney* le baron. » Le héraut Chandos a sans doute voulu désigner le seigneur de Parthenay en Poitou, aujourd'hui chef-lieu d'arrondissement des Deux-Sèvres.

Vers 2369 : Monsieur Bertrucat de la Bret.

M. Michel a traduit « Bertrucat » par « *Perdiccas*. » Mais *Perdiccas* est une mauvaise forme, que l'on trouve seulement dans quelques manuscrits des chroniques de Froissart; la bonne forme est *Bertucat*, qui s'est conservé comme nom de famille dans la région située entre la Garonne et les Pyrénées.

Siméon LUCE.

recherches dans les divers fonds de Paris et de la province; ajoutons que l'auteur, M. Pélicier, s'est plu à reconnaître lui-même tout ce qu'il devait aux travaux de ses devanciers, en particulier à l'important mémoire de M. de Boisliste intitulé *Étienne de Vcsc, sénéchal de Beaucaire*. Sur presque tous les sujets qu'il traite, même sommairement, notre confrère fournit des indications nouvelles. La concision chez lui n'est point synonyme de sécheresse; il sait renouveler l'histoire, en l'abrégeant. Ainsi, la session des états généraux de Tours de 1484 n'est pas racontée dans cet *Essai* avec les mêmes développements que dans les livres de MM. Picot et Arthur Desjardins; les démêlés de la France et de la Bretagne sont loin d'y occuper la même place que dans les deux volumes de M. Ant. Dupuy: et pourtant, sur ces deux points, M. Pélicier fournit des renseignements inédits, soit en utilisant un journal de l'abbé de Cîteaux, soit en se servant d'un important fragment de procès-verbaux du conseil, copié par Étienne Baluze. L'ouvrage dont nous rendons compte pourrait être plus étendu: nous ne savons s'il donnerait une idée plus juste du gouvernement des Beaujeu.

Les trente premières pages sont consacrées à une étude des sources. On ne saurait trop insister sur l'utilité de ces riches nomenclatures. L'usage en serait peut-être encore plus répandu parmi les savants, si elles n'avaient pour résultat de simplifier un peu trop, aux dépens de l'auteur, le travail de la critique. Il est certain qu'en livrant au public la liste des textes dont il s'est servi, un historien met, pour ainsi dire, à nu la charpente de son ouvrage; un simple coup d'œil suffit ensuite pour en faire distinguer les parties boiteuses. Quand, parmi les registres du parlement, M. Pélicier cite seulement les *arrêts criminels* et les *lettres originales*, on le soupçonne d'avoir négligé les *plaidoiries* et le *conseil*. L'omission des registres du grand conseil (Archives nationales, V<sup>s</sup> 1040 et suiv.) se fait également remarquer, et l'on songe, non sans regret, au parti que l'auteur eût pu en tirer pour la rédaction de son chapitre X, *De la Pragmatique Sanction*. Mais, encore une fois, n'abusons pas de ces trop faciles critiques, de peur de décourager les érudits qui, à leurs risques et périls, nous révèlent ainsi les secrets de la composition de leurs livres.

Un dernier mot cependant. Si M. Pélicier avait connu la série V<sup>s</sup> des Archives, il aurait sans doute compris de quelle haute cour il est question dans un passage du *Voyage de l'abbé de Cîteaux* qu'il cite en note, à la page 9: « *Consilium autem quod dicitur magnum consilium, « ubi videlicet presidet dominus cancelarius cum magistris requestarum, etc., tractaret more solito ea que concernunt justitiam...* » Il se serait gardé de confondre (p. 8), avec les procès-verbaux du grand conseil, le journal du conseil étroit, dont lui-même publie un fragment, et, reconnaissant qu'un grand changement était en voie de s'accomplir dans le mécanisme de l'administration royale, il aurait senti le besoin

















.) # 14036

Chandos - Le Prince Noir  
(Michel ed.)

PONTIFICAL INSTITUTE  
OF MEDIAEVAL STUDIES  
85 QUEEN'S PARK  
TORONTO 2, CANADA

14036

